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DEDICATION OF THE HISTORY TO JAMES VI KING OF SCOTS.

When after twenty-four years' wandering in foreign lands I at length returned to my native country, my first aim was to collect my writings, which had been unfortunately scattered in former times and damaged in various ways. But I found that partly by the excessive enthusiasm of friends, who had hastened an as yet unfinished edition, and partly by the unrestrained licence of foreign printers, counting themselves critics and making alterations according to fancy, that they had been vilely corrupted.

When I was engaged in redressing these difficulties, the unexpected entreaties of my friends overthrew all my plans.

PART I.

As if they had joined a conspiracy, they all urged me to give up working

INTRODUCTION.

and to write little books, which pleased the ear but did not edify the spirit, and occupy myself with writing the history of our people. This they said was a task worthy of my age and the hopes of my countrymen, likely beyond anything to bring fame and establish a lasting reputation. Other considerations apart, our Britain being the most famous island in the world, whose history is eminently crowded with memorable events of all kinds, you would scarcely find, they pointed out, any writer in any age who has dared to undertake or been able to sustain such an achievement.

Not the least consideration that impelled me to this task was that my work would be both due and valuable to you. For it seemed to me absurd and shameful that you, who have

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When I was engaged in redressing these difficulties, the unexpected entreaties of my friends overthrew all my plans. As if they had joined a conspiracy, they all urged me to give up working on my trivial little books, which pleased the ear but did not edify the spirit, and occupy myself with writing the history of our people. This they said was a task worthy of my age and the hopes of my countrymen, likely beyond anything to bring fame and establish a lasting reputation. Other considerations apart, our Britain being the most famous island in the world, whose history is eminently crowded with memorable events of all kinds, you would scarcely find, they pointed out, any writer in any age who has dared to undertake or been able to sustain such an achievement.

Not the least consideration that impelled me to this task was that my work would be both due and valuable to you. For it seemed to me absurd and shameful that you, who have

at your tender age studied the history of nearly every other nation, should be to some extent a stranger in your own land. Besides, since I am unable because of chronic illhealth to cultivate the aspects of your education entrusted to my care, I have deemed the next best thing to be that kind of writing most calculated to improve the mind; thus I might make up for my own neglect, as far as possible, by sending you faithful advisers from History, whose counsel would help you in your affairs, and whose virtues you might emulate in the business of your life.

There are among your forebears all manner of illustrious men, of whom posterity may be justly proud. To mention but one, in no chronicle of things past could you find one to compare with our David. Yet if he so distinguished himself by God's grace in times wretched and corrupt, we may rightly expect that you also may be, as the Royal Prophet says, the measure of mothers' vows when they pray for their children; and that this kingdom may yet be checked in its wild career toward destruction and ruin, even until it finally passes away in that appointed time when all human affairs must ultimately cease.

Edinburgh, August 27.

CONCEPTION OF THE HISTORY.

In his dedication, Buchanan indicates that he first seriously entertained the idea of writing a History after his return to Scotland in 1561. (1) There is evidence, however, that Buchanan may have been working on a History as early as 1555, or even earlier, when he was in Portugal. Giovanni Ferreri, the author of The History of the Abbey of Kinloss, writing to Robert Reid on 2 May, 1555, says: 'Nicholas Grouchy is about to publish three books, De Comitiis Romanorum. Grouchy, some years back, was a teacher in Portugal along with Buchanan, whose Scottish History I should like to obtain through you, for the work on Which I am now engaged.' (2) Buchanan and Grouchy were close friends, (3) and it is reasonable to suppose that Grouchy's interest in history had found a willing response in Buchanan. Ferreri was certainly in a position to know what Buchanan was writing while in Portugal. He was a colleague and a close friend. (4) Thus it is almost

(1) Dedication.

(2) Pollen, Papal Negotiations, 416. Ferreri was engaged on his continuation of Boëce's History.

(3) Aitken, Trial of George Buchanan, XX; XXXVIII.

(4) ibid, 118-9.

(3) Vernacular Writings, 58.

certain that Buchanan had contemplated writing a History much earlier than the date usually given. (1) It may be that for years he carried about with him notes and even chapters of his greatest work.

When he had settled in Scotland, Buchanan busied himself with collecting, revising and preparing his poetical works for publication. It is probable that he had just settled down to his History when the dramatic collapse of Mary's government brought Moray to the Regency and Buchanan to public life. The next few years were filled with activity. Buchanan was busy preparing and delivering his resounding libels of the Queen and her supporters. These were years, too, of persistent illness, and it is unlikely that he found time to produce anything besides his political pamphlets. By 1573, however, he was able to tell Daniel Rogers that he was working on a History. (2) In 1577 he mentioned the work to his friend Randolph: 'As for the present, I am occupied in writing of our history, being assured to content few, and to displease many there-through.' (3) Two years later he told Rogers that he was finding the task an irksome and tedious labour,

(1) *Epistolae*, XXII. (*Ruddiman*, II, 700)

(1) It has been assumed that Buchanan began the History about 1564. (See Hume Brown, *George Buchanan*, 293 ff) 295.

(2) *Epistolae*, XIV. (*Ruddiman*, II, 736) n. 1329

(3) *Vernacular Writings*, 58.

but that he was not being allowed to abandon it. (1)

It was believed early in 1579 that Buchanan had finished the History; (2) but the letter to Rogers, written in November of that year, proves that it was not yet ready for the press. Indeed, it appears from Melville's Diary that in September, 1581, Buchanan was still writing the Dedicatory Epistle; and it is unlikely that much time had elapsed between the completion of the text and the composing of the dedication. (3) While Buchanan was writing this, we learn from Melville, the main body of the work was in the hands of the printer, Arbuthnet. It would seem that Buchanan died before the book was published. The large number of typographical errors in this first edition, though not remarkable in early Scottish printing, suggests the possibility that the author's extreme ill-health caused the printers to hasten their work. However this may be, Buchanan lost the race with death.

(1) Epistolae, XXVII. (Ruddiman, II, 756)

(2) Vernacular Writings, 56; Hume Brown, George Buchanan, 295.

(3) Mr. James Melville's Diary, 86. (Edin. 1829)

(4) John Hill Burton, History of Scotland, V, 210.

LATIN EDITIONS.

The importance of Buchanan's History in the centuries that followed its publication is amply demonstrated by the large number of editions issued, both in Latin and translation. The first publication, by Arbuthnet in 1582, was in itself an event of some importance in the history of Scots printing. Though it contains a remarkable number of errors, the edition was, in the words of Hill Burton, 'the most eminent piece of typography that in its day had come from the Scots press.' (1)

Only one year passed before the History was re-issued, either at Geneva or Oberwesel. In 1584 an edition prepared by Johann Wechel was published at Frankfurt. This proved to be the best text produced so far: it was re-printed at Frankfurt in 1594, again in 1624, and again in 1648. It was superseded, however, by Elzevir's edition published at Amsterdam in 1643. This was by far the best edition of the 16th and 17th centuries. It proved to be extremely popular - not surprising in a period of militant presbyterianism - and it was re-issued many times: once in the same year, 1643, and again in 1655, 1663, 1668, and with an improved index in 1697, at Utrecht. In the same year, 1697, the History was reprinted at Amsterdam by John Ribs. In 1700 there was a further edition printed at Edinburgh by

(1) John Hill Burton, History of Scotland, V, 210.

George Mosman. This, the first native Latin edition since 1582, is much inferior to its Continental antecedents: the print is small, in double columns, and the references are poor.

In 1715 Robert Freebairn produced Ruddiman's Opera Omnia, the first definitive edition of Buchanan's complete works. The work included Ruddiman's edition of the History, which as regards textual accuracy is still the best. Unfortunately, in his anxiety to preserve historical accuracy, Ruddiman made many unwarranted emendations, which do not have the authority of his purely textual emendations. The result was that his version of the original text seems to conceal a number of Buchanan's inaccuracies, which causes difficulty to the historical editor. Yet Ruddiman's edition was so good that Peter Burman, the Dutch scholar, used it almost without revision for his edition of the Opera Omnia published at Leyden in 1725. In 1727 Ruddiman's text was again reprinted in Edinburgh by John Paton, having been prepared for the press by Alexander Finlater.

Ruddiman's edition met with criticism from admirers of Buchanan, on the grounds that he had tampered excessively with the text of the 1582 edition. One of Ruddiman's most bitter critics was James Man, an Aberdeen scholar, who re-edited the History for a new edition, which was published by James Chalmers of Aberdeen in 1762. Man believed that the first edition of 1582 closely represented the author's

considered text. His version, therefore, avoided Ruddiman's mistake of attempting to correct Buchanan's factual aberrations. But his almost slavish attachment to the text of the first edition involved him in a number of predicaments, for he is obliged to endorse as good Latin a large number of textual mistakes which Ruddiman and others had already recognised to be typographical errors. Man's edition, however, though it has not superseded Ruddiman's as the most accurate version of the text, is easier to use, since the possible emendations are confined to footnotes, and the reader is more assured that he is seeing a reasonably accurate version of Buchanan's original Latin. Man's was the last Latin edition of the History produced. Since then, historians have tended to use translations. The Latin text which is now generally accepted as the best is Ruddiman's, though for accuracy Man's text should be used in company with it.

(1) Hart, MSS 723v.

(2) The MS is in Glasgow University Library, MSS. 2.2.7.3.3.

(3) For a discussion of the provenance of this MS, see P.J. Amours, *Glasgow University Library*, 27 ff.

TRANSLATIONS.

There is a MS translation of Books XII to XIX of the History in the British Museum. (1) It is written in an early 17th century hand, and the spelling suggests that the translator was an Englishman. This is confirmed by the title: 'A History of the State of Scotland by George Buchquhanane, a Scotchman.' It is an extremely careful translation, clearly written, and evidently done by a good Latin scholar. Nothing is known of the provenance of this MS.

The earliest known translation of the complete History is still in manuscript, and seems to have been finished in 1634. (2) The authorship of this translation is not fully authenticated. A later hand has noted on the title-page of the MS folio that it was 'translated into the Scottishe tungue by John Read, Esq.' Little is known of Reid: he is said to have been brother to James Reid, minister of Banchory; and Nicolson, in his Scottish Historical Library, says that he was 'servitor and writer' to Buchanan himself. Doubt is thrown on this suggestion, however, by Wodrow; and it is even more suspect because Nicolson's alleged authority, Calderwood's preface, has proved to be silent on the point. (3)

(1) Hart. MSS 7539.

(2) The MS is in Glasgow University Library, P.M. B.E.7.b.3.

(3) For a discussion on the provenance of this MS, see F.J. Amours, Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies, 47 ff.

The MS is a fair copy, which suggests that the translation may have circulated in manuscript, though no other copy is known to exist. The translation is in Scots, of the elaborate highly Latinate style characteristic of the 16th and 17th centuries. This in itself suggests that Nicolson is wrong in believing that the translation may have emanated originally from Buchanan himself, for contrary to expectation Buchanan's Scots prose is not highly Latinate.(1) The translation is somewhat loose, far less accurate than might be expected if the author had had any hand in it. Its main significance, however, is that it reveals the existence of a demand for Buchanan's History in a medium convenient for the propagation of its principles in a period when these principles were being urgently debated by all classes of society.

In 1659 an English translation of the History was prepared for publication. (2) There is no indication as to the translator. The title-page, a hand-drawn imitation of a printed title-page - suggesting that this was the fair copy in the hands of the printer - merely states that the text was 'Interpreted by ane English gentleman.' We know that the book was actually in the press in 1660, when the

(1) See The Scots Buchanan, Saltire Review, I, 3, 61 ff.

(2) This MS is now in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

Restoration government took prompt steps to have it suppressed, on the grounds that it was 'pernicious to monarchy, and injurious to his majesty's blessed progenitors.' (1) The MS came into the hands of one John Gibson, as we know from the inscription, Ex Libris Joannes Gibson, Glas: 7th Nove 1684. A Sir John Gibson sat in the first Scots parliament of Charles II in 1660. His father, Sir Alexander Gibson, had been at one stage in his career in the anti-Royalist Scots army, and it is possible - though this is only conjecture - that the translation may have been made by him, and preserved by his son for reasons of sentiment. That the 'English gentleman' who 'interpreted' the text was in fact a Scot is suggested by the use of the article ane, more common at this period in Scotland than in England. There is, however, no certain indication of Scots influence in the calligraphy, the orthography, or the vocabulary.

This translation is closer to the Latin than Reid's, and the style is extremely vivid. The description of Mary

(1) Reg. Privy Council, 7 June, 1660.

is a good rendering of Buchanan's eloquent Latin: (1)

'In these so different tempers of people's minds, all were alike glad to see their Queen, who after such various events of both fortunes was so unexpectedly presented to them; who amidst most cruel storms of war being deprived of her father within six days after her birth, had been brought up by the extreme care of her mother, a most excellent woman; but being left a prey to domestic seditions and the foreign wars of such as were now more powerful, was exposed to all the dangers of outrageous fortune before she could have any sense of misery; and leaving her country like a banished person, was hardly preserved amidst the arms of her enemies and the violence of the waves... Besides the varieties of her adventures she was recommended by the excellency of her beauty, the vigour of her growing years and admirableness of wit...'

The quick suppression of this 1660 edition meant that there had been no native edition of the History, either in

-
- (1) Here is the Latin: In his tam variis animorum motibus omnes ex aequo suam Reginam videre cupiebant, post tam varios fortunae utriusque eventus, velut ex insperato sibi oblatam: ut quae inter saevissimas bellorum tempestates patre intra sextum quam nata erat diem orba, matris quidem lectissimae feminae summa diligentia educata: sed inter domesticas seditiones et externa bella eorum, qui plus possent praedae relictæ, et antequam sensum habere malorum posset, omnibus fortunæ saevientis exposita periculis: et patria relictæ, velut in exilium relegata, inter hostium arma et fluctuum violentiam aegre servata... Commendabatur etiam præter discriminum varietatem, excellentis formæ bonitate et maturescentis ævi vigore, et ingenii elegantia...

translation or in Latin, since 1582. As soon as political conditions allowed, however, this gap was filled. In 1690, when an administration likely to tolerate the ideology represented by Buchanan had been established, a new translation of the History was published in London. (1) This was the first printed translation. Again there is no indication of the identity of the translator, whose work is not so accurate a rendering of the Latin as that of 1659, nor is it so able a work of prose. It remained the standard translation, however, until it was superseded by that of Aikman in 1827. It was re-published in 1722 by William Bond, and thereafter appeared in other seven editions, in 1733, 1751-2, 1762, 1766, 1772, 1799 and 1821. Bond's text is substantially the same as that of 1690, except that the editor, who claimed that he had 'revised and corrected' the translation, has modernised a few adverbs and conjunctions. At least one other translation was made in the 18th century (2) but it does not seem to have reached print. It was made by a critic of Buchanan, and has, along with it, a Refutatio libri de iure Regni apud Scotos.

(1) Printed by Edw. Jones, for Awnsham Churchil, at the Black Swan in Ave-Mary-Lane, near Pater-Noster-Row.

(2) The MS is in the British Museum. (Add. MSS 4218)

In 1705 a curious piece of plagiarism was published under the title of 'An Impartial Account of the Affairs of Scotland, from the death of K. James the Fifth to the Tragical Exit of the Earl of Murray Regent of Scotland... Also some remarkable Instances that may give light into the Dependency of Scotland on the Crown of England... Written by an Eminent Hand.' (1) It was evidently designed to play a part in the political controversies that accompanied the movement for union of the parliaments. The writer of the preface claims to have retrieved the 'treatise' from 'the recess of dark Oblivion,' and disingenuously implies that the author is unknown. (2) At the same time he reveals that he knew quite well who the author was, for he tells the reader that 'the learned and Ingenious Author...left the World not long after the conclusion of this History...' The text is a translation of Books XVI - XX of Buchanan's History. It is inaccurate and slightly condensed, but it bears some resemblance to the translation of 1690. There is no effort to indicate the source of this 'Impartial Account of the Affairs of Scotland' - indeed, there is evidence of anxiety on the part of the publisher to hide its identity. The explanation is obvious. To claim that Buchanan's History

(1) Printed for John Nutt near Stationer's Hall, London, 1705.

(2) ' 'Tis not difficult to guess...that it must needs be done by some very eminent person...' (Preface to 1705 edition)

relates instances of the dependence of Scotland on the English Crown would have been manifestly absurd; but the last four Books, as they stand in this volume, out of their context, certainly reveal the dependence of a large number of Scots nobles on the bounty and guidance of England. This translation was published again in 1722, by Bond; one edition contained the Latin text along with the translation, and a second contained only the English. From one point of view, the book is of great significance: it demonstrates that, generally speaking, Buchanan's account of the reign of Mary was the principal raison d'être of the interest which his History engendered in the 18th century.

In 1827, James Aikman published four volumes called by 'The History of Scotland, Translated from the Latin of George Buchanan; with Notes, and a Continuation To the Union in the Reign of Queen Anne.' The first two volumes of this work contain Aikman's translation of Buchanan; and it is only owing to this that the book has survived. Aikman's translation is careful and accurate, though it tends to be too literal; and the lofty vocabulary of the early 19th century tends to suffocate the vitality of Buchanan's Latin. Yet this has remained the standard translation up to date. It reappeared at least three times in the following decade, and was extended from four volumes to six.

At the same time, 1827, another translation of the History was published, by John Watkins, who also supplied a

continuation - even more generous than Aikman's, taking the reader to the (then) present day. Watkins's translation was popular: it was reprinted in 1831 and again in 1840. But it is of little value: Watkins followed the 1690 translation so closely that his is merely the old one clad in a more modern dress.

NOTE ON THE PRESENT TRANSLATION.

In translating Buchanan's account of the personal reign of Mary, I have attended to the following principles:

(i) Faithfulness to the original text. The editions of Ruddiman and Man were found to be the most valuable, and both were used. Fortunately, the textual points controverted by these editors barely affect the Books (XVII, XVIII and XIX) involved in this translation.

(ii) Reproduction of style. I have tried to represent in English the vitality, flexibility and succinctness of Buchanan's Latin style. This necessitated a re-organisation of the syntactical structure of the Latin, since the use of absolute constructions, so effective in Latin, can only be approximated in English by the use of simple sentences.

(iii) Appositeness of phraseology. When writing in Latin, or translating vernacular documents into Latin, Buchanan had recourse to paraphrase for technical and political terms. In order to re-establish the manner of 16th century historiography, I have used the terms current at the time. In re-translating documents cited by Buchanan, I have used the original

phraseology as far as is consistent with faithfulness
to the Latin text.

principles. In Buchanan they saw the very fount of the heresies FOUR CENTURIES OF CRITICISM. 'meddlesome beasts' who

Buchanan had expected his History to 'displease many.' (1) In this he was correct: since its publication it has met with a continuous storm of criticism which has been almost equalled by fierce defence. During the 17th and 18th centuries, particularly, Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia seldom left the arena of political controversy. Coupled with the De jure regni, the History remained politically 'alive' as long as society struggled to resolve the problem of the true relationship between king and people. The long controversies for and against the legal, historical and philosophical justifications of monarchicism which accompanied the political developments of the 17th and 18th centuries inevitably involved a work of such immense authority as Buchanan's History. The De jure regni was the political preceptor of anti-monarchicists, but the History was a compendium of 'proofs,' illustrating and lending authority to the principles laid down in the theoretical tract. Thus Buchanan remained a strong influence especially among presbyterians, on whom religion was sharply political in its impact. For those who defended royalism and Divine Right, too, Buchanan's work was important, for this was the chief source of democratic

(1) Letter to Randolph. (Vernacular Writings, 58)

principles. In Buchanan they saw the very fount of the heresies of the monarchomachi, the 'seditious beasts' who asserted the 'pagan' doctrines of democracy.

The first shot of the long campaign against the History followed close on its publication.

In 1584 the Scottish Parliament passed 'An act for punishment of the authors of the slanderous and untrue calumnies spoken against the King's Majesty, his Council and proceedings, or to the dishonour and prejudice of his Highness, his parents, progenitors, crown and estate.' In the text of the Act, the only works specified by name are 'the books of the Chronicle and De jure regni apud Scotos made by umquhile Mr. George Buchanan.' These books are to be brought in under pain of a heavy fine, to be purged by the Secretary, because they contain 'sundry offensive matters' and are 'not meet to remain as records of truth to the posterity.' (1) Though the king was then but eighteen, it is difficult to believe he was not personally responsible for the condemnation of works so contrary to his own opinions. He was a precocious youth, conscious of his own importance, and inevitably sensitive to the stains on his mother's reputation for which Buchanan was largely responsible.

(1) A.P.S., III, 296.

(1) Hastings Portch., I, 149. (S.T.S. 1944)

(2) The correspondence is in Buchanan, Opera (1743), Prefatio; and Buchanan's pamphlet, Adversarius, etc. (1743), App. II, III, IV.

In later life he made no secret of his loathing of Buchanan's History, which he attacked both because of its political implications and its denigration of his mother. In his Basilicon Doron, James instructs his son to make himself acquainted with History: 'I would have you to be well versed in authentic histories, and in the Chronicles of all nations, but specially in our own histories (Nec sis peregrinus domi) the example whereof most nearly concerns yow: I mean not such infamous invectives as Buchanan's or Knox's Chronicles: and if any of these infamous libels remain until your days, use the law upon the keepers thereof....' (1) James pursued these 'Archibellouses of rebellion' throughout his reign. He supervised Camden's History, and no doubt supplied him with information which tended to discredit Buchanan - including the story that Buchanan repented of his libels on his deathbed, which caused so much controversy in the 18th century. James also attempted to influence De Thou, who based his account of Mary on Buchanan. The King commissioned Isaac Casaubon to write De Thou, supplying information about Mary which, he claimed, was authentic, and which refuted Buchanan. (2) De Thou, however, seems to have made no effort to abandon his first source of

(1) Basilicon Doron, I, 149. (S.T.S. 1944)

(2) The correspondence is in Ruddiman, Opera Omnia, Praefatio; and Ruddiman's pamphlet, Animadversions, etc. (1749), App. II, III, IV.

information. In 1624 W. Udall published his Historie of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland. (1) This narrative is obviously aimed at vindicating Mary, and was probably inspired by James himself. Here Moray is the villain, and Buchanan is dismissed as Moray's creature, 'one that would sweare it if Murrey spake it.'

Apart from James's efforts and some casual strictures by Camden and Sir James Melville, the early opponents of Buchanan concerned themselves chiefly with his De jure regni. This treatise was regarded from the first as the thesis proposita to the History, so that the later controversialists derived political ammunition from writers who did not explicitly deal with Buchanan's historical work, such as Adam Blackwood, (2) Sir Thomas Craig, (3) Hayward and Barclay.

William Barclay, in his De regni et regali potestate (1600) mentions Buchanan's History with contempt: 'He wrote the History with such infidelity that I am ashamed to see it so widespread. He lashes the most honest with maledictions, and oppresses the pious with calumny; but the wicked, ever ready to do evil, he blesses with great

(1) Printed by John Haviland for Richard Whitaker, London, 1624.

(2) Apologia pro Regibus, 1575; Martyre de la Reine d'Ecosse, 1588.

(3) Right of Succession, written in Latin, 1603; translated by James Gatherer, published 1703.

praises... In that History... I have found so many lies that when I see any truth, I can scarcely, at first, believe it to be true... I hope some-one, more honest and patriotic, will arise to blunt the poisoned edge of his pen, and expose his deceit by putting forth honest Annals of his time.'

Though they confined themselves for the most part to political theory, these writers are significant in that they started a school of criticism which soon extended to embrace Buchanan's History. For the early attacks on the History were concentrated on the principles of government which underlay Buchanan's manipulation of character and event; and from this theoretical opposition there grew an increasing tendency to examine and evaluate the truth of the historian's assertions which, as will be seen, materially contributed to the development of a mature and objective historiography.

The constitutional struggle which culminated in the Civil War inevitably brought in its wake a bitter warfare of words. The jurists who led the puritan movement in England confined themselves largely to a study of the principles of Common Law, in their efforts to justify their attack upon the royal prerogative. But the extremist wing of the revolutionary movement consisted of those whose principles derived from the long heritage of medieval democratic theory, represented in Scotland almost entirely by the work of Buchanan. Though Buchanan's

ideas were drawn chiefly from traditional medieval conceptions of sovereignty, his statement of the old principles was so lucid and forceful that - for the Scots presbyterians at least - it became the ultima ratio for the struggle against the king.

The immense popularity of Buchanan's History at this period is reflected in the large number of editions the book went through in the forty years between 1620 and 1660. It seems to have been used as a School textbook quite early in the century. 'When I was young and at school,' wrote Sir James Turner, 'I was often persuaded to read Master George Buchanan's History of Scotland, not only for the elegance of his Latin style but to know the records of my own country.' When he returned to Scotland after years of foreign military service, Turner was impressed by the prevalence of Buchanan's History among the Scots. In the Scots army in England at the outbreak of the Civil War, says Turner, almost every minister (and there was one in every Regiment) could 'produce Buchanan's Story as readily as a Bible. I suppose,' he adds, 'they looked on him as the patron of their undertakings. Most of those gentlemen who were officers of that army and had learned Latin carried Buchanan about them like wives. So universally was he cried up by all that I imagined his ghost was returned to earth to meander a little among the Covenanters.' (1)

(1) MS Nat. Lib. Scot., Buchanan Revised, Annotations and Animadversions on Buchanan's History, etc. (P.M. 31.1.14)

Buchanan's appeal to the revolutionary party is easily understood. His political tract was an eloquent justification of their rebellion, and his History was a store of past precedents which must have given them security and encouragement, as well as lively verbal ammunition to throw against royal privilege, corruption and tyranny. The political literature of the time is redolent of the ideas expounded so ably by Buchanan. Rutherford's Lex Rex, published in 1644, was based primarily on Buchanan's Dialogue, and most of the various Addresses, Protestations, Declarations, Exhortations and other pamphlets which issued from the pens of the anti-royalists display a thorough knowledge of both the De jure regni and the History.

Distaste for Buchanan's principles on the part of the royalists, led gradually to an increasingly searching criticism of his historical accuracy. Some shrewd observations on the subject which came to be widely used by critics were made by Gordon of Straloch, in his Letter to David Buchanan and his preface to Spottiswoode's History. Straloch suggested that the History was written to support the principles of the De jure regni, and that it was accordingly a perverted account of Scots history. Much was made of this idea by later critics, though Buchanan's account of early Scots history is so much a repetition of Fordun, Boece and Major as to preclude the theory that it was written with a grand philosophic design. Another suggestion made by Straloch, however, was so plausible that

it occupied the minds of critics and defenders for more than a century. This was that Buchanan wrote both the De jure regni and the History to advance the earl of Moray's claim to the throne. The theory is unlikely, but it was of extreme significance as a stimulus to closer examination of the history of Mary's personal reign. Straloch gave his own shrewd assessment of Moray's character. He saw him as an opportunist, a man 'occasiones fortuitas rapere, et in rem suam vertere,' ever biding his chance to usurp the throne of his half-sister. It was Straloch who gave out the story that Moray attempted to procure the execution of George, Lord Gordon after the downfall of Huntly in 1562. (1) Like the story of Buchanan's death-bed repentance, which derived probably from James VI himself, this became another item in the interminable controversies of the next century, and another accretion to the formidable body of legend which has attached itself to the most controverted period in history.

The restoration of Charles II came just in time to prevent what would have been the first published translation of Buchanan's History. But the book still

(1) Gordon's Scots Affairs, Spalding Club, 1841, App. I.

flourished in Latin, and Latin was by no means yet dead (1) as a vehicle of current ideas. That Buchanan should figure in the list of 'calumnious books' publicly burned at Oxford, in 1683, reveals the 'live' quality of his work. In Scotland, especially, the History continued to be read, used and assaulted. Curiously enough, it came to be utilised by both sides in the controversies which followed the deposition of James II. Whigs like Andrew Fletcher and Burnet still found in Buchanan the historical precedents they required to vindicate 'the de-throning principle,' though the work of Locke swiftly superseded Buchanan as the theoretical bulwark of the Revolution, even in Scotland. On the other hand, Jacobite writers like Sir George Mackenzie found in Buchanan's long fabulous list of Scottish kings a strong argument in favour of the antiquity (and therefore, presumably, the solidity) of the Stuart line. Buchanan's History continued to be the standard work on Scottish history throughout the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century - until, indeed, the growing body of periodic studies constituted the foundation for a new general History.

Its prominence was due to several factors. Among these, the most obvious, perhaps, was Buchanan's immense prestige as a scholar. He was, after all, the most famous of Scots writers before Burns and Scott. Added to this, his narrative was written in an incomparably beautiful Latin, which must have been a joy to readers who so preferred good Latin to the vernacular that they demanded

the translation of English and Scots works into Latin. (1) Another reason for the popularity of Buchanan's History, of course, was that it was still, at the end of the 17th century, the latest general History of Scotland, if we except the insignificant work of Catholic apologists like Chalmers of Ormond and Dempster. But above all Buchanan was read because of the intrinsic interest of his account of Mary Stuart. As the principal vindicator of the first revolt against the Stuarts, Buchanan became an important figure in the controversies which accompanied the second and then the final revolt against the dynasty.

In this respect Buchanan's work played an important part in the development of a new and mature historiography. The 18th century brought a fresh attitude towards history as towards most aspects of human thought. Towards the end of the 17th century, the new 'scientific' approach to the problems of the outer world began to apply itself to the study of the past. The growth of historical pyrrhonism which accompanied the collapse of the old theological orthodoxy reflected the intellectual problems thrown up by such discoveries as the absurdity of biblical and classical chronology. History could no longer be trusted as an aid to government or the good life, for it had been demonstrably fabricated by the old chroniclers. Writers like Malebranche, Sainte-Evremond and Mencken cast serious

(1) Gordon of Straloch was so pleased with one of Knox's Disputes that he turned it into Latin. (op.cit. App.I, XVI)

doubt on the efficacy of historiography as a useful activity, and scholars throughout Europe were prepossessed by the problems raised in the battle of the Ancients and the Moderns. (1) There could be only one answer to the problem for the historians - more scholarship, closer examination of the evidence that remained, a more objective study of the behaviour of men in the past. The prepossessions of the old chroniclers - their faith in previous historians, their emulation of, and extravagant reliance on, the classical writers, their complacent disregard of documentary evidence - all these archaic encumbrances must be discarded, and a new technique evolved to accommodate the new outlook. Among the old edifices to be assaulted and thrown down was the great History of Buchanan.

Though the need for critical study was widely recognised, the development of mature and impartial historiography was by no means a wholly conscious process. In Britain, especially, History was still too much a vehicle of propaganda to become a disinterested art. As the favourite kind of reading matter for a large number of the literate, History continued to reflect the political prejudices of the day. All historians became politicians; many politicians

(1) For an interesting discussion of this subject, see Paul Hazard, La Crise de la Conscience Européenne, 30-50.

(1) Buchanan's libels were still being read widely in the 18th century. In 1721 the *Detective* was published along with the *De Jure Regni*; in 1710 the *Changelion* was published, in *Miscellaneous Antiquary* it was republished in 1813.

became historians. But the increasing scepticism of a more articulate society required an increasingly veridical account of the past: more detail, more evidence, more corroboration. Thus historians, whatever their politics, became more aware of the necessity of supporting their arguments by recourse to documentary evidence, letters, declarations, Acts of parliament and contemporary narratives. This urge towards authenticity led scholars like Rymer to publish statutes and treaties which had lain unnoticed in state archives, and which earlier historians had not felt it necessary to consult. It encouraged publicists like Nicolson to produce critical surveys of past historiography. It induced the publication, during the 18th century, of a vast amount of original historical material which radically changed both the content and the purpose of historiography.

Not the least interesting aspect of this renaissance was the rapid development of the 'Marian controversy,' which had never ceased to interest men of letters since the tragic Queen's flight to England. In the 18th century a new stage in the debate was reached. Contemporary and near-contemporary polemicists, like Leslie, Blackwood and Dempster, had contented themselves with stating the case for the Queen by making arbitrary assertions bearing as little relation to the truth as the libels of Buchanan. (1) Later

(1) Buchanan's libels were still being read widely in the 18th century. In 1721 the Detectio was published along with the De jure regni; in 1710 The Chamaeleon was published, in Miscellanea Antiqua; it was republished in 1818.

17th century writers like Turner and Straloch had concentrated on attacking Buchanan's logic: arguing points of fact in vacuo, without going any further in seeking new evidence than to cite contradictory statements from earlier controversialists; or selecting 'inadvertencies,' 'contradictions,' 'slanders,' 'calumnies,' and answering them with recourse to 'reasonableness' and 'judgment.' Such unrewarding quibbling went on throughout the 18th century, in an almost ceaseless stream of treatises for and against the Queen of Scots. But it was accompanied by a new spirit of enquiry which, though seldom disinterested, did stimulate a great deal of genuine research.

The popularity and prestige of Buchanan's History stimulated Jacobite efforts to find an adequate answer to his denigration of Mary. In the Introduction to his spurious 'Memoirs,' David Crawford of Drumsoy, Historiographer Royal, expresses this urgency. 'As of late we have had some of Mr. Buchanan's Works very frequently published both in Latin and English, so we have got too a more than common opinion of his honesty, and the number of his admirers is considerably increased, the stigmas put upon him by the former governments being wholly buried in oblivion. I am therefore to expect heavy censures..... for publishing what so manifestly and flatly contradicts him.' (1) It is a measure of the political importance of Buchanan's account of Mary that Crawford should

(1) Crawford, Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, XIII.

have been prepared to publish such a disingenuous 'transcription' as his 'Memoirs.' Though he puts them forward as 'authentic and impartial,' the narrative as he presents it warrants the charge made a century later by Malcolm Laing that it was 'the earliest if not the most impudent literary forgery ever practised in Scotland.' (1) Crawford explicitly vouches for the authenticity of the Memoirs. 'I declare solemnly I have not, that I know of, wrested any of his words, to add to one man's credit, or impair the honesty of another, and (having no manner of dependence upon any party; for tho' the persons are dead, the parties, for aught I know, may be alive still) I have.... kept as close as possible to his meaning and sense.' (2) Yet, when collated with the actual MSS used by Crawford (published by Laing in 1804) the Historiographer Royal's narrative bears little identity, either in content or opinion, ^{with} to the original. Crawford's Preface, however, is a well-written argument against Buchanan's treatment of Mary's personal reign, and it is the first systematic pro-Marian answer to Buchanan's libels on the Queen.

In 1708 Robert Freebairn published Notes and Observations on Mr. George Buchanan's History of Scotland. This was from a MS in the Advocates' Library, and had been

(1) Preface to Laing's edition of The Historie of James the Sext, 1804.

(2) Crawford, Memoirs, LXII.

written by Thomas Craufurd about 1630. (1) The MS had been used by Craufurd of Drumsoy and other earlier writers, but its publication marked the beginning of a new systematic evaluation of the History which continued throughout the century. Craufurd has no political axe to grind in his little book: he set out to explain 'difficult passages,' rectify Buchanan's erratic chronology, point out typographical errors in the first and other editions, and supplement Buchanan's consistently bare nomenclature. Freebairn's preface is another testimony to the importance of the History. He points out that it was so universally read and esteemed that he 'thought it would be a service done to the public, to print anything which might render it more easy and useful.'

In 1715 Freebairn published the first volume of Buchanan's Complete Works. The editing and the elaborate Latin introductions were done by Thomas Ruddiman. The first volume consisted chiefly of the History, the De jure regni and the Detectio, and it was, and has remained, the definitive edition of Buchanan's work. Ruddiman was a careful scholar, but his Jacobite sympathies were so apparent in his preface that a storm of criticism was raised which involved the editor in controversy for the rest of his life.

(1) The MS is undated, but Craufurd writes of Lady Jean Gordon as having 'died lately.' She died in 1629.

Ruddiman's preface was the first long study of Buchanan as a historian. After an account of the conception and publication of the History, Ruddiman cites a number of previous comments, by such scholars as Gordon of Straloch, de Thou, Barclay, Sir George Mackenzie, (1) James Anderson (2) and Crawford of Drumsoy - most of them to the detriment of Buchanan's work. He goes on to make some pungent criticisms of Buchanan's historical accuracy, bringing to his aid the work of Leslie, Melville, Camden, Pitscottie, Balfour, David Crawford and other previous historians. Ruddiman's survey of the field is wide and shrewd, but it is in the tradition of the early historiography. Though he cites letters and an occasional state paper (taken from Rymer's Foedera, the Sadler Papers, and the Cotton Collection) he does little to place the subject on a scientific basis. Yet its authoritative style and method makes Ruddiman's preface an important turning-point in the development of Scots historiography. It launched a series of pamphlets, treatises and Collections which resulted in the establishment of a solid substratum of historical material for the use of future historians.

The controversies engendered by Ruddiman's criticisms were various. The most unrewarding of these was the

(1) Ius Regium, 1684.

(2) Historical Essay, showing that the Crown of Scotland is Imperial and Independent, 1705.

philological controversy. Ruddiman had corrected a large number of textual aberrations in Buchanan, incorporating in the body of the work the errors pointed out by Craufurd along with a number of emendations noted by himself. These emendations were explained in notes which were placed at the end of the volume. This was the subject of fierce attacks from Whig writers who believed that Buchanan could do no wrong. A number of Scots Whigs, including James Anderson, Charles Mackay, the professor of History at Edinburgh, and George Logan, compiled a large list of 'Notts to vindicat the Truth and clear off the Aspertions by, or in, Mr. Thomas Rudeman's preface to Mr. Robert Freebairn's edition of George Buchanan's History from malignant spirit.' (1) These men intended to produce a 'new and correct edition of the illustrious George Buchanan's work...as a most critical and just vindication of that incomparably learned and pious author, from the aspersions and calumnys of Mr. Thomas Rudeman.' (2) This was in 1717. Hearing that the Dutch scholar Burman was about to produce an edition of Buchanan's works, the 'associated editors,' as Chalmers calls them, wrote to say that they would furnish him with materials to expose and correct Ruddiman's errors. They failed to fulfil their promise, as Burman indicates in his preface; so the Leyden edition came out in 1725, complete

(1) Cited Chalmers, Life of Ruddiman, 75.

(2) ibid, 76.

with Ruddiman's preface and annotations. Years later, however - after a series of polemics on other subjects relating to Buchanan - James Man, of Aberdeen, published his Censure and Examination of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's philological Notes (1753). In this large octavo, Man takes up the position that everything printed in Arbuthnet's 1582 edition is more likely to be correct than Ruddiman's emendations, and proceeds to argue about a long list of ostensible errors made by Ruddiman, pouring abuse on the unfortunate printer-scholar with astonishing violence. Ruddiman replied at equal length in 1754, justifying his emendations with painstaking detail. (1) From the historian's viewpoint, the whole controversy is futile, since the textual points controverted do nothing to affect the general sense of Buchanan's narrative. But it serves one useful purpose: it illustrates the importance of Buchanan for the scholars of the period; and especially it reveals the underlying political significance of scholastic activity at the time, since there is a clear-cut alignment of Whigs in defence of Buchanan and Tories in attack.

Much more important to the historian is the controversy which arose in connection with Buchanan's treatment of early Scottish history. Ruddiman had endorsed Straloch's view that Buchanan consciously perverted certain historical events in order to illustrate

(1) Anticrisis, etc., 1754.

his theory that the Scots monarchy had always been elective, and had tried to prove in his preface that this theory was wrong. In 1729 Thomas Innes produced his famous 'Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain' in which he also attacked Buchanan and endeavoured to show that the Scots Crown had always been hereditary, not elective. In 1746, George Logan published his 'Treatise on Government,' arguing against the Jacobite writers, especially Ruddiman. Ruddiman replied in 1747 with an Answer to Logan; and Logan followed up with several further treatises, all hotly contesting what Ruddiman and other Tory controversialists had propounded. The debates were long-winded and arid, but out of them came serious efforts to establish the truth about such controverted issues as the Bruce-Baliol Competition of 1291, the legitimacy of Robert III and the truth about Mary, Queen of Scots. The polemicists on both sides published a formidable list of charters, Acts of Parliament and other relevant documents, which eventually diverted the historian's attention from the assertions of chroniclers to the cold facts embodied in state documents.

The hottest historical debates of the 18th century centred upon Mary Stuart. In their attack upon the Revolution Settlement, Jacobite writers regarded the anti-Marian rebellion as the beginning of a continuous movement of sedition against the hereditary crown. Accordingly

they emphasized the elements of conspiracy which entered into the events of Mary's reign - the English plot to cheat the Scots Queen of her claim to succeed Elizabeth; the alleged scheming of Moray for the throne; the deliberate denigration of Mary and her supporters by the reformers. The Whigs retaliated by asserting the justice of the revolutionary cause, arguing that the case against Mary was well-proven, stressing her guilt in the murder of Darnley and in attempting to re-instate the Catholic Church. Intense interest in the period was generated by the current political implications of the controversy, since both Whigs and Jacobites claimed that their principles were grounded solidly on historical precedent.

In the dispute which involved Buchanan, the main subject of debate was Buchanan's personal integrity, since the testimony of a historian against a contemporary was considered to stand or fall according to his honesty. Ruddiman, following Camden and later writers, had put forward the story of Buchanan's death-bed repentance. This circumstance, if true, demonstrably belied Buchanan's libels of Mary, for as the English editor of the 1722 translation pointed out, when we know that the author publicly confessed the falseness of his calumnies, 'every line of reproach becomes a line of glory' to the wronged Queen. (1)

(1) Bond, preface to Buchanan's History, 1722.

The question of Buchanan's alleged repentance quickly became a bitter controversy. The story, first told by Camden and retailed afterwards by Strada, in De Bello Belgico, by Johnston, in his Historia Rerum Britannicarum (1655), and by Sage, in a Letter published in 1709, was considered by Jacobite writers to be well-authenticated. But the Whigs soon mustered a formidable body of arguments to disprove the story. In 1749 John Love published A Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan, in which he brings in the 'counter-testimonies' of de Thou and Varillas, (1) and most important of all, the story told by James Melville, in his Diary, to the effect that Buchanan declared, while the History was in the press, that he would 'bide' the King's 'fead, and all his kin's' rather than retract an allegation he had made. (2) Ruddiman answered Love a few months later with a pamphlet called Animadversions, etc., but he failed to overthrow the argument, and was forced to admit, in Anticrisis (1754), his answer to Man's Censure, that the story of Buchanan's repentance was probably false.

This was a blow to the Jacobites, but it was compensated by a minor victory over the question of 'Buchanan's Ingratitude.' One of the accusations

(1) Histoires des Révolutions arrivées en Europe en matière de religion, 1686-9.

(2) Mr. James Melville's Diary, 86 ff. (Edin. 1829)

which Ruddiman had levelled at Buchanan in his preface to the 1715 edition of the History was that he had been given many benefits by the Queen, and had repaid them by treachery. The benefits named by Ruddiman in 1715 were the Tutorship of the prince and the Principalship of the College of St. Leonard's. Love countered by denying (quite correctly) that these benefits had derived from the Queen. In his answer, however, Ruddiman published, for the first time, the Act of Privy Seal by which Mary gave Buchanan a pension of 500 pounds Scots from the rents of the Abbey of Crossraguel. (1) This was unanswerable, and could only be countered, as it was in Man's Censure, by redoubled assaults on Mary, to justify Buchanan's tergiversation.

Accompanying all this scholastic quibbling, and indeed emanating from it, there was an increasing flow of published primary authorities. In 1725 Jebb published his Vita et Rebus Gestis Mariae Scotorum Reginae, a collection of pro-Marian contemporary and near-contemporary narratives which was hailed by Jacobites and sympathisers as an authoritative refutation of the libels of the Queen's opponents. In 1727 and 1728 James Anderson, one of the 'associated editors' who had attacked Ruddiman's Opera Omnia, brought out four volumes of Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland. This publication was at once attacked by the Jacobites as being prejudicially selective, calculated to

(1) Appendix to Ruddiman's Animadversions, 1749.

support the anti-Marian party. Anderson was criticised also on scholastic grounds, because he represented documents inaccurately and committed such solecisms as calling Mary Queen of Scotland. (1) In 1739, Ruddiman published Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus, an important work first begun by Anderson. Ruddiman's Preface is an interesting example of the interdependence of scholarship and political prejudice in the 18th century: he alleges the genuineness of a charter purporting to have been made by Duncan; he claims that a treaty had subsisted between Charlemagne and the King of Scots; he proves from charters that the two great controversial issues - the Bruce Baliol Competition and the Illegitimacy of Robert III - had been misrepresented by earlier historians. But the Diplomata and other works marked the progress of historiography from polemics to learning, and made available an increasing volume of primary material from which could be built the great histories of succeeding decades.

Meanwhile, in 1734, Robert Keith had published his History of the Affairs of the Church and State of Scotland. This was the most complete history of Buchanan's period which had been written up to this time. Though clearly biassed in favour of Mary, Keith displayed a width of vision and knowledge which raised him immediately to the first rank of Scots historians. His book contained a formidable amount

(1) Chalmers, Life of Ruddiman, 156.

of documentary evidence, much of which had never before been published. It became, and remains, a valuable authority on Mary's reign. Keith endorsed Ruddiman's view of Buchanan, and did much to discredit the History. He seldom missed an opportunity to demonstrate Buchanan's factual and chronological inaccuracy. His Marian bias, however, led him to protest overmuch against Buchanan's uninhibited attitude to the events of the period. Nevertheless Keith's History was the first major historical work which effectively undermined Buchanan's position as the most influential authority on the period. Henceforward there was to be an increasing flow of general and periodic histories based on contemporary evidence, with a corresponding steady decline in the trust to be placed in Buchanan's work.

Another devastating onslaught was made on Buchanan in 1754, when Walter Goodall published his Examination of the Letters said to be written by Mary, Queen of Scots. Here, for the first time, appeared a sketch of the provenance of Buchanan's famous libels. Goodall, a staunch Marian, was well aware of the part played by the Detectio in the tortuous policy of Elizabeth's chief ministers. He explained the situation in which Buchanan wrote his denigration of the Queen; he showed the English government's use of the Detectio to bring Mary into disrepute on the continent; and he effectively demonstrated some of the glaring contradictions in Buchanan's various versions of the murder of Darnley. Even more than Keith,

perhaps, on whom he depended largely, Goodall threw discredit on Buchanan's reputation as a historian. He alleged - and proved - that in some instances Buchanan borrowed from Pitscottie. Though he was mistaken in supposing that Knox borrowed from Buchanan, he realised that some collation of the manuscripts had occurred. His work, together with that of Keith, almost destroyed Buchanan's authority. Henceforward, historians used the Rerum Scoticarum Historia with the utmost diffidence.

The two most prominent Scots historians of the century, Hume and Robertson, both revealed their distrust of Buchanan in their work. Hume's History of England, published in 1759, reflected the increasing value of the research which had been done by such scholars as Anderson, Haynes, Murdin, Keith and Goodall. Keith, especially, was a valuable mainstay to Hume in his account of Mary's reign. And Hume clearly endorsed Keith's opinion of Buchanan. The philosopher, of course, could hold no brief for either Knox or Buchanan, whom he called the 'passionate historians' of the time - theirs was the kind of bigotry which Hume abominated. Hume displayed much warm sympathy for Mary in her unenviable situation. In his fine description of the Queen on her arrival in Scotland he draws from Buchanan; but in the main he is careful not to rely upon him. The work of Ruddiman, Keith and Goodall had clearly lowered Buchanan's prestige.

Robertson, too, whose History of Scotland also appeared in 1759, uses Buchanan rarely, and with great caution. He relies heavily on Keith's work, as did Hume, but he displayed a sounder knowledge of other authorities. Robertson explicitly refers to Buchanan's inaccuracy, and evidently thought little of the Rerum Scoticarum Historia as an authority on the period.

It is to be remarked that, much as both these famous historians relied upon Keith and Goodall, neither inclined to believe in Mary's innocence of fore-knowledge of the murder of her husband. Hume stated the case against the Queen with regret, but his intellectual honesty forced him to the conclusion that the Queen's guilt was proven, and that the Casket Letters were genuine. Robertson states both cases, for and against the Queen, and claims, with justification, that he endeavoured to be impartial. Yet he, too, clearly and unequivocally decided that, on the evidence, the Queen's guilt had been established. It is all the more significant, therefore, that these two historians, having been led by a study of the evidence to endorse the charges brought against Mary by the party for which Buchanan spoke, should unreservedly believe that Buchanan's statement of the case was untrustworthy.

The Marian cause, however, was far from defeated by the formidable judgments of Hume and Robertson. No sooner had their Histories been published than William Tytler published his Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Evidence

produced against Mary Queen of Scots, and an Examination of the Histories of Dr. Robertson and Mr. Hume with respect to that evidence. This work proved to be extremely popular: it went through several editions in English, and was translated into French for a 19th century edition by Labanoff. Tytler was almost exclusively concerned with the problem of the Letters, and his criticisms of Robertson and Hume are shrewdly to the point. It is said that Hume was so disturbed by them that he could not bear to be in the same room as Tytler. Yet the book adds little to the controversy concerning the Queen's guilt. Its only significance in regard to the history of Buchanan's work is that it did a little more to discredit the historian. In the course of Tytler's examination of the history of the Letters Buchanan assumes a more and more sinister aspect: the reader might almost be compelled to agree with Tytler that this was a man 'whose talents for conducting so dark an affair....could not be exceeded by any person.' (1)

The Marian controversy was now in full swing. For the next century and a half, hardly a year passed without some attack on or vindication of the Queen. Buchanan's position as the chief propagandist for Mary's enemies ensured that his work and character remained subjects of interest as long as the story of Mary kept alive the interest of scholars and other students of the period. After William Tytler, other

(1) Tytler, Enquiry etc., 111.

writers took up the cudgel on behalf of the Queen, and consequently against Buchanan. In 1782 Gilbert Stuart published his 'History of Scotland, from the establishment of the Reformation to the Death of Queen Mary.' This is an insignificant work, but it fanned the flames. Stuart was a ruthless defendant of Mary. He culled from earlier writers anything that might serve to blacken the characters of the Regent's party, the reformers, and later historians who accepted their charges against the Queen. In his general condemnation, Buchanan did not escape. In 1787, John Whitaker published his 'Mary, Queen of Scots Vindicated,' in which he sought to prove that not only was Buchanan the arch-libeller of the Queen, but that he was the 'forger' of the Sonnets, as Lethington was of the Letters.

The political issues of the last decades of the 18th century seem to have influenced the history of Buchanan's reputation. A man named Callender, who appears to have been an active constitutional reformer, and who was 'outlawed for seditious practices,' according to George Chalmers, wrote 'Memoirs of Buchanan,' which was published in Lord Gardenstone's Miscellanies. Callender was a fervent admirer of Buchanan, and his work is a zealous vindication of all that Buchanan did and wrote. That redoubtable Tory, George Chalmers, replied to Callender in his 'Life of Ruddiman.' Chalmers traced Buchanan's life, with some accuracy, seeking to corroborate the assertions of Ruddiman as to Buchanan's 'ingratitude' and 'treachery.'

As was habitual with him, Chalmers allowed the fervency of his prejudices to influence his treatment of fact. But he struck shrewdly at the History: 'Burleigh and Randolph, Murray and Macgill, and the other wise men of the times, were so silly as to hope that successive generations would regard its sophisms as maxims, and its assertions as facts. Little did they foresee, that a race of men would arise, who would distinguish between Buchanan's assumptions and his proofs; who would detect the falsehood of the writer, and would even expose the artifice of his patrons.' (1)

In 1804, Malcolm Laing published his 'History of Scotland..... with a Preliminary Dissertation on the Participation of Mary, Queen of Scots in the Murder of Darnley.' The Dissertation is a powerful exposition of the case against the Queen. Laing states in his preface that his History was 'chiefly written in a distant solitude, far removed from political discussion;' and it would be difficult to demonstrate any marked prejudgment in his conclusions. He supports his arguments with formidable authority and uses prejudiced material with great caution. In spite of this, his attitude is uncompromisingly one of sympathy with Moray and his party. Inevitably, therefore, Laing vindicates Buchanan wherever he can. In several footnotes, he succeeds in pointing to corroborations of assertions made by Buchanan and later dismissed by hostile

(1) Chalmers, Life of Ruddiman, 1794, 348.

writers as falsehoods. (1) To some degree, Laing re-instated Buchanan as an authority on the period: and yet he damns him by faint praise, for he seldom cites Buchanan without some other authority.

It was due to Laing's endorsement of Buchanan's work, probably, besides the new Life by Irving published in 1817, that two new editions of the History were published in 1827. Yet Buchanan's reputation as a historian of his own times had sunk low. Patrick Fraser Tytler, whose History of Scotland (1828-1843) was hailed as the best yet written, does not once cite Buchanan directly as an authority, although he uses almost every other contemporary source. Buchanan, writes Tytler, lacks 'the cardinal virtue of truth' and 'when he writes as a contemporary, it is easy to detect that party spirit and unhappy obliquity of vision which distorts or will not see the truth.' (2) This opinion seems to have held good throughout the 19th century. Few historians relied upon Buchanan sufficiently to cite him frequently, though critics of Mary continued to use the Detectio as a factual narrative. 'It has become the practice,' writes John Hill Burton, 'with some writers to disbelieve everything said by Buchanan. Great part of his History is doubtless fabulous, and when he comes to the controversies in which he took part, he was

(1) Instances of this may be found in Laing's History (1804 edition) I, 16, 33, 48, 96, 99, etc.

(2) Tytler, History of Scotland (1864 edition) IV, 54.

(1) J. H. Burton, History of Scotland (1897 edition) III, 101. Burton's volumes on Buchanan's period appeared in 1867-70.

too strong a partisan to be impartial.' (1) Burton, however, did not ignore Buchanan's work. He cites the Detectio and the History occasionally, and indicates - with some justification - that he does not believe the work to be negligible.

In 1890 P. Hume Brown published his biography, 'George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer.' Besides being what has remained the standard Life of Buchanan, this book contains the first reasoned survey of the History. Though not a detailed appraisal of the History, Hume Brown's chapter is important in that he has attempted to assess Buchanan's value as an authority on his own time. His respect and admiration for Buchanan are great, though not impassioned; and his work undoubtedly did much to re-instate Buchanan as a valuable witness to the events through which he lived.

'As one who had had daily intercourse with Mary,' writes Hume Brown, 'who was intimate with Moray, Lennox, Mar, Knox, and other leaders of the people, his narrative must needs have an importance which it would be a serious mistake to undervalue. In his account of his own century, Buchanan puts before us the construction of its main tendencies as they appeared to the party to which he belonged. Such a statement from a man of Buchanan's powers of mind, with his wide experience of men and things, and intense interest in the great movements of life, puts us in a far truer relation to his century than any modern

(1) J.H. Burton, History of Scotland (1897 edition) III, 101 n. Burton's volumes on Buchanan's period appeared in 1867-70.

reconstruction we may base on piles of State documents.' (1) Hume Brown is not blind to the prejudice with which Buchanan's narrative is 'deeply tinged.' But he is inclined to discount the partialities as being less important than the essential values of the History - 'the fact remains,' he argues, 'that Buchanan's History of his own time is the honest attempt to produce a narrative such as he believed would be finally accepted as just and true. Partisan though he is, Buchanan's estimates of the chief personages of his time in Scotland display a studious attempt to be fair, even where his antipathies are strongest.' (2)

As will be demonstrated, this estimate of Buchanan's history of his own time is far from accurate. It served, however, to re-establish the importance of the History as an account of the period. So great an authority as Hume Brown could not be ignored, and it is significant that in the histories of the period which have appeared since, much greater account is taken of Buchanan than was thought necessary by earlier historians. The great history of Mary produced by D. Hay Fleming in 1897 (3) reflects this renaissance of Buchanan's importance, as does Andrew Lang's History of Scotland (1900 and 1911). Yet Hume Brown himself,

(1) Hume Brown, George Buchanan, 317-18.

(2) ibid, 320-21.

(3) Hay Fleming, Mary, Queen of Scots.

in his History of Scotland, cites Buchanan only a few times, and even then only as corroborative evidence. rendered his inter The quatercentenary of Buchanan's birth, 1906, brought forth two memorial volumes, one from Glasgow and the other from St. Andrews. These contain a good yield of new thought and information about Buchanan, and must be regarded as triumphant affirmations of the man's high stature in the eyes of his countrymen. In the St. Andrews volume there is an article on Buchanan as a Historian. Here we have one of the most recent pronouncements on the value of the History: 'We cannot do without Buchanan's History, or any other record which faithfully delineates the period which has fallen under the recorder's personal knowledge; its worth lies in the individual note which is struck and which nothing impersonal can supply. In our age, and in succeeding time, Buchanan's History must find an honoured place, in so far as it is the account of a great period of history seen through a great man's eyes.'

That Buchanan's History of his own time is partial has always been well-known. Yet ever since its publication, every succeeding generation has produced writers who believed the work to be of great value as a source of information and view-points, as well as those who considered it to be too full of falsehood to be consulted. Thus the History has always presented problems: how far is it to be trusted; in what

respects is it at variance with other authorities; and in what respects has the prejudice of the author rendered his interpretation of events untrustworthy? It is to answer these questions that the present work has been undertaken, in the belief that when due regard has been paid to the errors, prejudices and inaccuracies in Buchanan's History, a substratum remains of fact and comment which cannot be ignored by any student of Queen Mary's reign. After all has been said, Buchanan was an eyewitness to much that went on in his own day: 'he trode the Theatre, whilst the Things he relates were acting; he shifted the Scenes with the principal Actors, and was himself no small Sharer in the Action.' (1)

(1) Crawford, Memoirs, XXIV.

BUCHANAN'S CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

History, to Buchanan as to most humanists, was the supreme art. He regarded his Rerum Scoticarum Historia as his magnum opus, as indeed it is. We have seen that his immense reputation owed more to his political work than to anything else. Buchanan himself was conscious that on his History would rest his chief claim to world-wide repute. (1) He was not unconscious, too, of the importance of such a task, and evidently took pride in the knowledge that his friends and admirers were eager to see it accomplished. (2) More than once he protested that only the urgent demands of friends encouraged him to persist in his work in face of old age and gout; (3) but it was not entirely in a spirit of service that Buchanan wrote his History: he plainly regarded it as the crowning achievement of a life of scholarship, and hoped that it would remain a lasting monument to his own genius.

Buchanan is commonly regarded as typical of the humanist movement of his time, and his work is usually interpreted in the light of that intellectual revival. It must be remembered, however, that there were two aspects of humanism in the 16th century - one essentially conservative, the other progressive. Its progressive stream derived from the renewed

(1) Dedication.

(2) Letter to Randolph. (Vernacular Writings, 58)

(3) Letter to Daniel Rogers. (Ruddiman, II, 756)

interest in the great classics which accompanied the revulsion from the introspective sophistry of the scholastics. This meant, in the realm of philosophy, a harking back to the more mundane outlook of Aristotelianism, a renewed interest in the natural world which carried with it a certain hostility to the unrewarding preoccupation with metaphysics that characterised the medieval scholastics. It was this fresh interest in the external realities that gave humanism its progressive impetus, and marked the beginning of a new phase in human thought. Apart from its religious implications - the new individualism manifested by most of the protestant idealogies - this swing of interest from the soul to the world outside generated what has been called the 'scientific mind.' It produced a stream of experimentation, invention and exploration which materially changed the world.

In the realm of letters, however, humanism was essentially a new retrospection. Scholars rediscovered the great works of Greek and Roman poets and rhetoricians and hailed them as the archetypes of all that was best and most lasting in human record. Thus artistic creation became an effort to emulate the forms, content and aims of the ancient models. It was to this genre of exclusive attachment to the remote past that Buchanan attached himself. His humanism was almost wholly of a literary rather than philosophical character. In style, method and content he is nearer to his Roman models than to Shakespeare or Bacon or even his contemporary, Bodin. His De

Sphaera, his tragedies, his lyrics and satires all reveal that Buchanan derived nothing from the emergent scientism of his own generation. (1) It is true that he regarded himself as a rebel and attacked with pungent satire the dry sophistry of scholastics like John Major. (2) But Buchanan was a rhetorician rather than a philosopher, and his innovations are stylistic rather than intellectual. It is true that his De jure regni brought him fame as an expositor of progressive political ideas; but it has been amply proved that the political principles he expounds are typically medieval rather than modern, harking back to the 13th century rather than pointing forward to the 18th. (3)

In his History, Buchanan is characteristic of the conservative stream of humanist writers. Even in his own time, a 'scientific' view of history was being propounded. 'The task of the historian,' wrote Bodin, 'is above all the study of political conditions, and the explanation of human

(1) It is significant that the De Sphaera is a restatement of the old Ptolemaic astronomy, and a rejection of the Copernican theories.

(2) Cf Buchanan's epigram:

Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Major,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro:
Non mirum, titulis quod se veracibus ornat:
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.

(Though Major, 'great in name alone,' may drive
From page to vacuous page his volume through,
To doubt his title-page were most uncivil:
The greatest liars' claims are sometimes true!)

(3) Carlyle, Political Theory of the Middle Ages, V.

revolutions.' (1) But this was an exceptional viewpoint for the 16th or even the 17th century. Most humanists regarded History as a didactic art; and in this they were following their classical models. Medieval histories were either verse-tales written for entertainment or vehicles of nationalist propaganda. The more self-conscious writers of the 16th and 17th centuries in Scotland, men like Buchanan, Spottiswoode, and Burnet professed a nobler purpose. For them History was a school of morals, the historian's task the weaving of an attractive and instructive narrative. Their materials were ready at hand: the work of predecessors, examples and analogies from the ancients, imaginative cameos of great men, moral digressions drawn from events of the past, and maxims for the present. (2) They did not conceive of the necessity for close scrutiny of events, the evaluation of evidence or rational explanation of behaviour. Whatever had been written before could be used in evidence if it suited the author's design. Persuasion by eloquence rather than by facts was their design. They claimed impartiality, but this usually meant that they were willing to state an opponent's case, if only to destroy it by their own arguments. The relative nature of their conception of impartiality is demonstrated by their avowed aims: defence of country, prince, religion, or morality.

(1) Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem, 1566.

(2) Lindsay of Pitscottie, for example, draws a moral at the end of each book in his History.

Buchanan is typical of this school of historiography. He is explicit as to his idea of the purpose of History: 'Since I am unable,' he tells the young Prince James in his Dedication, 'because of chronic illhealth, to cultivate the aspects of your education entrusted to my care, I have deemed the next best thing to be that kind of writing most calculated to improve your mind; thus I might make up for my own neglect, as far as possible, by sending you faithful advisers from History, whose counsel would help you in your affairs, and whose virtues you might emulate in the business of your life.' (1) This conception of the nature of History precluded any effort to interpret the past in the light of objective truth. It stimulated rather than suppressed prejudice, for it compelled the chronicler to pass judgment on the behaviour of historical personages. It gave free rein to the writer's predilections and preconceptions, but gave no opportunity for rational deduction. It was not the past he studied, but a mythology, having the past for its setting, famous men for its characters.

Buchanan claimed another purpose in writing his History: to purge Scottish history from 'English lies and Scottish vanity.' The 'English lies' he attacked were the theories of English antiquarians and historians like Sir Thomas Elliot, Humphrey Lloyd, Hall and Grafton. The

(1) Dedication. The parallel with Plutarch and other classical writers is inescapable.

'Scottish vanity' was the fantastic claims of earlier historians like Major and Boece. In neither of these tasks did Buchanan achieve anything constructive. His attack on Elliot and Lloyd is tedious, quibbling and inconclusive; and though he rejects many of Boece's fables with sarcastic satisfaction, he retains such fond inventions as the fabulous list of prehistoric Scottish kings. In all this Buchanan is neither better nor worse, ethically or intellectually, than the majority of his contemporaries. Later historians like Innes and Pinkerton made severe criticisms of Buchanan's integrity on the grounds that he used matter he must have known to be false. But this is to misunderstand the nature of historiography in Buchanan's time. Buchanan believed that eloquence and persuasion, applied to what had been written by earlier writers, could establish a rational - and therefore veridical - picture of the past.

In accordance with his standards, therefore, Buchanan disposes of the first thousand years of Scottish history with recourse to such classical writers as Caesar, Lucretius, Ptolemy, Claudius, Pliny and Tacitus, and medieval writers like Bede, William of Newbury and Froissart, with plentiful borrowing from Boece. For the later centuries, he relies upon Fordun, Wyntoun, Boece and Major. There is practically nothing original in his narrative, other than a few independent observations on such trifles as place-names and the location of obscure little battles. There is no attempt

to interpret any period in the light of economic, political or cultural development, or to deduce any of the fundamental principles of human behaviour, as is attempted by more modern historians; though wherever he finds an opportunity, he follows the example of his classical models in putting eloquent expositions of his own political ideas into the mouths of historical characters.

In the constitutional polemics of the 18th century Buchanan was accused of using his History as a means of illustrating the political theory of his De jure regni apud Scotos. This is an overestimation of the intellectual quality of the History. Buchanan as a historian was neither capable nor self-conscious enough to weave any such grand design into his narrative. It is true, however, that his political ideas permeate his work. (1) As Hume Brown points out, the speech put into the mouth of Bishop Kennedy (2) and that attributed to the earl of Morton (3) are, taken together, another statement of the political creed expounded in the De jure regni. (4) Other prejudices

(1) The accession of a king, for example, is always indicated by such expressions as 'electus est Rex,' 'populi suffragiis creatur,' 'populus regnare iussit,' implying the elective rather than the hereditary system of succession.

(2) Book XII (Aikman, II, 180 ff)

(3) Book XX (ibid, 601 ff)

(4) Hume Brown, George Buchanan, 316.

which influence Buchanan's treatment of earlier periods are nationalistic and religious. There is no doubt from the History that the author is a Scot, and proud of his race. His partiality is pervasive and easily discernible, but not wholly original, for he follows Boece and Major in their one-sided interpretation of events. Yet he is more outspoken in his attacks on English historians than his predecessors. Perhaps it is that Buchanan is aware of differences in interpretation which both Boece and Major ignore. In dealing with religious matter, Buchanan again follows Boece and Major to an extent remarkable in a protestant historian, though his protestantism is easily recognisable. His account of Augustine is shot through with anti-papal prejudice; yet he is generous with praise of Malcolm and David, in spite of their aggrandisement of the Roman Church. The truth is that in dealing with the earlier history of Scotland, Buchanan has little to contribute to the work of former historians, except a few clever remarks and a brilliant Latin style.

It is in his Books dealing with his own times that Buchanan offers interesting matter for study. Here he becomes less of the sciolist and much more an original contributor to historiography. Here he is dealing with times through which he had lived, events that he personally knew. The quality of his narrative undergoes a change which is not surprising: no longer relying upon previous writers, he becomes less argumentative, less accurate, much more

detailed. (1) His chief sources of information for the events of his own time are personal recollection and the accounts of others.^x More than once he explains that his information comes from the recollections of men with whom he had been acquainted. Among those whose testimony he cites are Lawrence Tallifer and David Lindsay of the Mount. In the 14th Book he gives a lengthy account of a military campaign in which he actually took part. (2) And in the same Book he mentions his own banishment in 1539 on suspicion of Lutheranism. (3) These instances of personal knowledge add to the verisimilitude of his narrative. But it must be remembered that Buchanan spent the greater part of his adult life out of Scotland. For most of his information, he was dependent upon letters, gossip and later recollections. Such knowledge at second and third hand could not have been accurate. Even if we assume that Buchanan started to compile notes with a view to a History as early as his sojourn in Portugal we must remember that a narrative put together from the reminiscences of others is much less trustworthy than a first-hand account. It is for this reason that of all the twenty Books of the History, only the last three are of supreme historical value; and this

(1) Of the 20 Books, more than 8 deal with the 16th century.

(2) Hume Brown, George Buchanan, 34 ff.

(3) Aikman, II, 317.

because it was only from 1561 till his death that he lived continuously in Scotland, at the centre of affairs, closely associated with the political events of the day, and personally involved in the important affairs of state. Nothing in the Rerum Scoticarum Historia is of such historical importance as his account of the personal reign of Mary Stuart; and a critical study of this section of the History demands a detailed examination of Buchanan's personal involvement in the events of his time, and the consequent degree of perversion which this causes in his narrative. It may be that the lord James recommended him to the young Queen, and that this was the beginning of the friendship between the two men. James may well have met Buchanan in the Huguenot circles in France. Certainly Buchanan was associated with the protestant movement at that time. His employer, the Marshal de Brisson, was associated with the Montcairency group of Politiques, who if not all Huguenots were united in their hatred of the Guises. (4) Buchanan himself tells us that it was during his five years with the Guises that he

(1) C.S.H. Vol. 1, 1661-62, 209.

(2) Acad. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

(3) Home Brown, 1661-62, 1661.

(4) C.S.H. Vol. 1, 1661-62, 209.

BUCHANAN'S PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT.

Buchanan returned to Scotland some time in 1560 or 1561. It has been suggested that he returned with the Lord James Stuart in the spring of 1561, but of this there is no proof. He was certainly in Scotland at the end of 1561, (1) and the terms of his pension - 'to Maister George Buchquhannane, for the Martinmas terme 1561 bigane' - suggest that he probably was in the country before November at the latest. (2) He seems to have been appointed to the position of tutor to Mary before or soon after his return to Scotland. (3) It may be that the lord James recommended him to the young Queen, and that this was the beginning of the friendship between the two men. James may well have met Buchanan in the Huguenot circles in France. Certainly Buchanan was associated with the protestant movement at that time. His employer, the Maréchal de Brissac, was associated with the Montmorency group of Politiques, who if not all Huguenots were united in their hatred of the Guises. (4) Buchanan himself tells us that it was during his five years with de Brissac that he

(1) C.S.P.For., 1561-62, 855.

(2) Accts. L.H.T., XI, 111.

(3) Hume Brown, op.cit., 180.

(4) C.S.P.For., 1560-61, no. 317.

came to a settled frame of mind in religion. (1) Bearing in mind the relations between teacher and employer in these times, and the evident admiration Buchanan expresses for de Brissac, we cannot escape the conclusion that there was a certain identity of opinion between Buchanan and his master. It is evident from the History that Buchanan hated the Guises with special bitterness: he accuses the Cardinal of guile, savagery, and petty dishonesty, and the Duke of ruthlessness and grasping ambition. (2)

Whatever may be deduced from Buchanan's association with the Politiques in France, it is certain that he applied their policy of expediency with some success during his first few years at Mary's court. From the beginning he maintained friendly relations both with the Queen and her bitterest opponents. For some years Mary paid him an annual pension of 250 pounds Scots. (3) This was no inconsiderable sum at that time, and compares extremely favourably with that given to the Masters of the Household, the Clerk Register and other officials; especially as Buchanan's services as 'instructor' to the Queen could not have been very arduous. (4)

(1) Vita Sua (Hume Brown, op.cit., App. A)

(2) See infra, 4, 13, etc.

(3) Accts. L.H.Treasurer, XI, 111, 167, 221.

(4) Hume Brown contrasts Buchanan's pension with payments made to Riccio in 1566. (op.cit., 186) But this disregards a 20% loss in value in the Scots pound between 1561 and 1566. (Patrick's Statutes of the Scottish Church, CXIV)

Furthermore, the pension was no doubt supplemented with monetary gifts from the Queen, the Earl of Moray, and other patrons in recognition of odes, dedications and begging epigrams. (1) In October, 1564, Mary presented to Buchanan a pension of 500 pounds Scots, to be derived from the revenues of the Abbey of Crossraguel; but Buchanan seems to have gained little from this gift, owing to the rapacity of landlords. (2) But there is no reason to suspect the Queen's good faith in assigning the pension. According to Randolph, she wished to make Buchanan the Abbot, but he refused: 'with spiritualties he wyll not meddle, bycause he came not preache.' (3)

While playing the part of Court-Laureate, Buchanan was also establishing himself in the graces of the reforming party. In 1563 he joined a Commission appointed to revise the Book of Discipline, and from then to the end of Mary's personal reign he sat annually in the General Assembly. (4) During this time he was called upon frequently to sit on committees of the Kirk, to discuss and determine such administrative and doctrinal matters as came up in the Assembly. He must have made himself exceptionally useful to the reforming party, for

(1) See the Epigrammatum, etc. (Ruddiman, II, 359 ff)

(2) Buchanan and Crossraguel Abbey. (George Buchanan, ed. Millar, 86 ff)

(3) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 110.

(4) Hume Brown, op. cit., 190 ff.

(1) Hume Brown, op. cit., 180; Vernacular Writings, 56.

(2) G.S.P. Papers, 1561-62, no. 255.

when they came to power, after Mary's downfall, Buchanan emerged as an important figure in Kirk and government. He became moderator of the General Assembly, in June 1567, immediately after the Queen's imprisonment, and later Director of Chancery, Keeper of the Privy Seal, an ex officio member of Parliament and Privy Councillor, and tutor to the young James. There can be no doubt that Buchanan commended himself further to the anti-Marian party by the part he played in the persecution of the Queen after her flight. But some of his popularity certainly derived from his services to the protestant cause.

During Mary's personal reign, Buchanan was busy collecting and revising his poetic work for publication. His special prestige as a scholar, however, gave him opportunities for social and political advancement which it would seem he was ready to seize. In this the friendship of two important men appears to have worked for him. The first of these was Thomas Randolph, English resident ambassador to Mary's court. Randolph had been a pupil of Buchanan's in Paris, and clearly preserved a warm and sincere respect for his former master. (1) In January, 1562, Randolph suggested to Cecil that Buchanan should be recommended to Mary as the permanent Scots representative at the English court. (2) Buchanan was not preferred to

(1) Hume Brown, op. cit., 180; Vernacular Writings, 55.

(2) C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 855.

this post, but Randolph's letter reveals at least that the scholar may have wished to take up such work. In February 1563 Buchanan was appointed to a Latin secretaryship at court. (1) The emoluments of this position may have been small, but as has been seen they were only one of several different sources of income. Randolph's friendship was of value to Buchanan especially in the years following Mary's downfall. In 1568-69 he had access to the houses of Cecil and other powerful Englishmen, and probably to the court of Elizabeth. (2) One evident advantage the scholar gained from his English friends was access to English State Papers, a knowledge of which he reveals more than once in his History. (3)

Of greater practical value to Buchanan was the friendship of the lord James Stuart, later earl of Moray. When they first made each other's acquaintance is a matter of conjecture. (4) From the first, however, Buchanan seems to have recognised in Moray the natural leader of the political wing of the reformation in Scotland. (5) In 1566 his Franciscanus appeared in Paris, with a Dedication to

(1) Reg. Privy Council, I,

(2) See Epigrammatum. (Ruddiman, II, 383, 390, 395, 396, etc.)

(3) See infra, 26, 154.

(4) I have suggested that they met in France. (supra, lxii)

(5) See Dedication to the Franciscanus (Ruddiman, II, 255ff)

Moray. In the same year Moray rewarded Buchanan with the 'principalship of the College of St. Leonard in St. Andrews. (1) The relationship between the two men at this time was the traditional one of patron and scholar. In 1568, however, Moray made more practical use of Buchanan's gifts. As leader of the Scots insurgent party after Mary's flight to England, Moray was forced to make a strong justification of their actions in taking arms against the Queen. The Queen had fled from Langside on 13 May, 1568. On 8 June, Elizabeth wrote demanding that Moray should justify the proceedings of the rebels. (2) The Regent replied on 22 June, telling the English Queen that John Wood had already been despatched to her court, bearing 'that which we trust shall sufficiently resolve her Majesty....' It has been forcefully suggested that this 'vindication' of the rebels' proceedings was in fact some letters, accompanied by Buchanan's Latin Detectio, hastily commissioned by Moray and written up in the course of some days. (3) This hypothesis can never be proved; but it is certain that Buchanan's libels of Mary were directly commissioned by the Regent's government. The relations between the two men were thus much closer after Mary's downfall: as will be

(1) Hume Brown, George Buchanan, 193.

(2) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 693.

(3) Mahon, Indictment, 4, 5 (n.2)

(2) Hume Brown, op. cit., 202.

seen, they were now working together with a common aim - the destruction of the Queen's cause and the establishment of Moray's authority. Buchanan was by this time wholly attached to Moray, and the ascendancy of the earl brought a corresponding advancement in the scholar's political career. In June, 1567, Buchanan had become for the first time, the Moderator of the General Assembly. Buchanan's nomination was almost certainly a result of his devotion to the interests of Moray. In October 1568, the Regent went to York to put his case against Mary before Elizabeth's Commissioners. With him went Buchanan, as one of the chief prosecutors of the Queen. (1) 'It must certainly be regarded,' says Hume Brown, 'as a tribute to the character and high reputation of Buchanan that he, a simple scholar, was chosen to make one of a body charged with such weighty responsibilities.' (2) It was not to his integrity or his scholastic repute that Buchanan owed this 'tribute,' but to his association with Moray and his first-hand acquaintance with the evidence to be laid before the Commissioners.

The part played by Buchanan in the indictment of Mary will never be clarified; but it is certain that he figured largely. It has already been suggested that Moray sent a first copy of the Latin libel, De Maria Regina Scotorum, etc., to Elizabeth as early as June, 1568, along with copies of some

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 854.

(2) Hume Brown, op. cit., 208.

of the Casket Letters. If this is true, it suggests that Buchanan was familiar with the chief evidence against Mary at an early date. His being chosen as one of the Commissioners who produced the documents at York, in October, 1568, tends to confirm this. More than one Mariolater has suggested that Buchanan was one of the principal 'forgers' of the Letters. (1) Certainly it was Buchanan's books that introduced to the world at large the formidable charges brought against the Queen.

The provenance of the various versions of the libels against Mary is hedged with conjecture. But there is reason to believe that Buchanan's Latin Indictment was translated by him some time towards the end of 1568, probably while he was in England. What would seem to be such a translation was published in 1923 by R.H. Mahon, who concluded that this document was prepared before the Book of Articles, shown to the Westminster Commission in December 1568. (2) The obvious inference from this is that the Book of Articles, so close to the translation of Buchanan's De Maria Regina, etc. in sequence and phrase, was based upon Buchanan's work. A further possible inference is that Buchanan, in co-operation with Lennox, was mainly responsible for drawing up the Book of Articles, which constituted the insurgent lords' chief indictment of the Queen.

(1) Cf Goodall, Examination; Whitaker, Vindication of Mary.

(2) Mahon, Indictment, 17 ff.

It will be seen, then, that Buchanan's relations with Moray were extremely close: they shared more than opinion by this time. They shared danger, for they were both irrevocably bound to an anti-Marian policy, and a counter-revolution would unquestionably have ruined both. The identity of interest between Buchanan and Moray was probably established before Mary's downfall; but there is no positive indication that Buchanan was ready to stand openly against the Queen before the summer of 1567. Hume Brown has suggested that the murder of Darnley marks the turning-point in Buchanan's attitude to the Queen: his attachment to the Lennox family, combined with his disgust at what most of his confrères regarded as the Queen's crime, being sufficient to explain the change between his part in the baptismal ceremonies of December, 1566, and his part in the arraignment of the Queen. It is equally true, however, that Buchanan's apparent policy follows that of Moray. As the earl's friend and dependent, he was probably influenced by his behaviour. It is noticeable that there is no evidence that Buchanan joined the earl of Lennox's strenuous campaign against Bothwell in the spring and early summer of 1567; that there was no vigorous pamphlet from Buchanan to support Morton and his friends in May and June, 1567, as there was against Maitland and the Hamiltons some years later; and that Buchanan kept silent until Moray had returned and taken up the leadership of the victorious rebels. It is almost certain that Buchanan's emergence as a political agent was the result of a call from his patron,

Moray; and that his final break from temporising was actuated by his alliance with Moray rather than his attachment to the Lennoxes.

This is not to say that Buchanan's consciousness of family attachment was not strong. Indeed, he would have been an unusual Scot of his generation had he not felt race and descent to be of surpassing importance in his life. His work reveals an almost passionate pride of nationality and clan. In the Vita Sua he is careful to note that he came of a 'familia magis vetusta quam opulenta,' and there are ample grounds both in the History and in his life, for supposing that where clan-consciousness could creep in Buchanan was as susceptible as any of his contemporaries. But it is a mistake to attribute too much to this foible, at any rate with regard to Buchanan. It was political rather than personal prejudice which determined Buchanan's standpoint in the great debates of his time; and anything in the History that could be attributed to clan-consciousness - his detestation of the Hamiltons, for example, or his excessive lenience towards Darnley - can be equally explained by recourse to political associations.

Buchanan's evident partiality to the Lennoxes may have been strengthened by his close association with Matthew, earl of Lennox. In 1568, while Buchanan was in England with the Scots commission, Lennox was actively engaged in supplying 'evidence' and preparing accusations. Similarities of phrase and the coincidence of facts found in Lennox's

narratives and Buchanan's libels, suggest that the two were working together. It is certain that Buchanan was familiar with Lennox's unpublished papers. (1) That Lennox was specially favourable toward Buchanan is obvious: during his Regency he appointed Buchanan to the posts of Director of Chancery and Keeper of the Privy Seal. Buchanan's partiality towards Lennox is clearly evident in his History. (2) His account of the Lennox-Hamilton feuds are narrowly prejudiced against the Hamiltons; and throughout the whole History, save where he borrows from Knox, Buchanan loses no opportunity of denigrating the Hamiltons, who were traditionally opposed to the Lennox family, and were primarily responsible for the destruction of his chief patron and friend, the earl of Moray.

Buchanan's relations with Knox have puzzled at least one biographer. Though Knox was the outstanding commoner of the day, and probably the most influential figure in the events of the period, Buchanan ignores him, save for a few casual references. Hume Brown has suggested as a reason for this strange neglect that Knox could not have been regarded as a great man in his own day: that Buchanan, as much the more famous, and would naturally have found

(1) The Lennox MSS are in Cambridge University Library. They were used by Andrew Lang, in The Mystery of Mary Stuart, and the first Narrative has been published, by Mahon, in Mary, Queen of Scots, 1924.

(2) Cf infra, 67, etc.

little of note in Knox's demagogic power. But all the evidence available proves that Knox was, even in his own generation, a man of immense significance: a commanding personality whom no historian could reasonably ignore. There is more than meets the eye in Buchanan's determined refusal to allow John Knox a place in his narrative.

A clue to their relationship may lie in the only reference to Knox in Buchanan's correspondence. 'As to Maister Knox,' he writes to Randolph, 'his History is in his friends' hands, and they are in consultation to mitigate some part the acerbity of certain words and some taints wherein he has followed too much some of your English writers....' (1) Now, a note in the margin of the MS of Knox's History, 'seen by Mr. George' suggests that Buchanan had read that section of Knox's work in MS. But the reference in the letter indicates that 'friends' other than Buchanan were examining the text. The reference tells us also that, in Buchanan's eyes, Knox's work is faulty - both because of the writer's excessive partisanship, and because of his lack of original reflection. This reference to Knox cannot be called a gracious one, and in its somewhat peremptory casualness it resembles Buchanan's mention of Knox in the History. Only one explanation is possible: a serious lack of sympathy between the two men. But Knox's expressed respect for Buchanan precludes the explanation that the disrelish was mutual. It must have been on Buchanan's side only - which suggests some sort of personal or 'professional' jealousy.

(1) Vernacular Writings, 58.

Now there is every reason to believe that a man like Buchanan should resent a man like Knox. Buchanan's reputation was solid, built up from many long years of scholastic labour. Knox was like a meteor sweeping across the sky of Scots religious and political life: his power was attained swiftly in the course of a few years.

Buchanan relied upon the value of his literary work for his place in the life of his country: only the cultured nobility could fully appreciate the quality of his intellect. Knox was a rabble-rouser, deriving his authority from the force of his preaching, the brash strength of his personality, the élan of his sudden advent in the forefront of a revolutionary movement. Buchanan, struggling against poverty, conscious of his social standing as an author of European repute, coldly moderate in his enthusiasms, no doubt resentful of the shifts his indigence forced him to adopt, proud of his achievements yet eager to stand out in the new sphere of politics - such a man could not but detest the rough, loud, untutored success of an upstart like Knox. And what would Buchanan think of Knox's History? He himself had been toiling for many years upon a great Latin work which would establish his fame, he believed, for ever. It would bring his country to the forefront of the world's interest and resolve for all time the conjectural theories about the events of the day. But Knox, the demagogue, had forestalled him with a farrago of stories, sermons and sneers which he called the History of the Reformation in Scotland! And it was written in a queer kind

of half-Scots which not only contrasted badly with the purity of Buchanan's Latin, but belied the potential qualities of Scots as Buchanan could write it! Could Buchanan ignore Knox, and Knox's work, as too trivial to be noticed? The conclusion is inescapable that this was what he tried to do; with the result that his studied indifference is conspicuous and significant.

Buchanan, however, did not disregard Knox's History. As may be seen from the annotations to the text, he used it to some considerable extent in his account of the first few years of Mary's personal reign. (1) That he did not acknowledge his borrowings from Knox casts no reflection on his integrity, for such plagiarism was the rule rather than the exception in the historiography of his time. All was grist to the historian's mill; his own recollections, those of his friends, rumours and traditions, the writings of predecessors, his own reflections, inferences and imaginative reconstructions. All these Buchanan wove into his narrative; and when every statement becomes of great importance, as in his account of Mary, all these must be examined. The evaluation of the various influences impinging upon his interpretation of events becomes a delicate weighing-up of the writer's mind as expressed in

(1) see infra, 3, 10, 12, 18, 29, 30, etc.

his narrative, and as such must be as vaguely intangible as the mind itself. Nevertheless there are several well-defined streams of prejudice discernible in Buchanan's narrative which colour his treatment of incidents, and it is these we must now consider, in the light of what we already know about his personal involvement in the events of his time.

.....

Not only events, but the motives, the secret hopes and plans of the persons involved in the events are described as if they constituted some revealed truth offered upon the author. The dogmatic style, and the smooth, untroubled manner of presentation, gives to Buchanan's narrative an air of apparent objectivity. His authoritative manner is enhanced by his brilliant rhetoric, which lends cohesion and verisimilitude to what is, in essence, mostly bare assertion.

This lofty, expository manner contrasts sharply with the style of his earlier polemics. In the Detectio and the vernacular pamphlets Buchanan takes no secret of his partisanship: his case is presented passionately, with sarcastic jibes, rough, vituperative humour, analogies and illustrative 'proofs' in the forensic manner of the Roman Forum. In the History he takes on the dispassionate air of the judge. What had been the cut and thrust of polemics becomes sober statement of 'fact,' presented with a seeming logicity that tends to induce the necessary 'suspension of disbelief' in the reader's mind.

BUCHANAN'S INTERPRETATION OF EVENTS.

In the manner of its classical archetypes, Buchanan's history unfolds itself smoothly, unhindered by source-references or proofs; and it has that apocryphal quality, with its implication that total knowledge of all that has occurred has been divinely vouchsafed to the writer, which characterises the humanist histories of the 16th and 17th centuries. Not only events, but the motives, the secret hopes and plans of the persons involved in the events are described as if they constituted some revealed truth endowed upon the author. The dogmatic style, and the smooth, untrammelled manner of presentation, gives to Buchanan's narrative an air of apparent objectivity. His authoritative manner is enhanced by his brilliant rhetoric, which lends cohesion and verisimilitude to what is, in essence, mostly bare assertion.

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The story of the personal reign of Mary is in itself a unity within the History. The whole tone of Buchanan's narrative changes at the beginning of Book XVII, which introduces the Queen. Before this point his treatment is episodic, and concerns itself chiefly with events. In dealing with the reign of Mary his interest seems to be concentrated on her personality, and the consequences of its impact upon the nation, in particular the nobility. The result is that there is a pattern discernible not only in his selectivity but also in his emphases: he omits or plays down any incident which will not suit some underlying purpose. Thus the History is essentially an argument. In spite of its oracular style it is as much the pleading of a case as the Detectio or the De jure regni; though the technique is subtler and less evident. This has been recognised by critics of Buchanan from the first; but several different themes have been attributed to his account of his own times. As we have seen, Gordon of Straloch put forward the theory that the De jure regni was the thesis proposita and the History a kind of illustratory appendix. It is true that Buchanan expounds and illustrates his political theory in the History; but though it might well be regarded as a subsidiary theme, the justification of his political ideas was clearly not the principal motif of Buchanan's narrative. Other critics have ascribed other purposes: the triumph of the protestant revolution; the unmasking of the Hamiltons' campaign for the throne; the vindication of Moray's aspiration to the throne. All of these motives are

discernible in Buchanan's treatment of history, and they have all contributed to his manipulation of events. But none has the convincing quality of total consistency. The real thesis must embrace all of these subsidiary elements.

The explanation lies in the political atmosphere in which Buchanan wrote his account of his own times. His advent to the sphere of political writing was a result of the revolt against Mary. All of his political work is allied to the situation in which the protestant rebels found themselves after the downfall of the Queen. It was to justify this rebellion that Buchanan wrote the De jure regni, the principal proposition of which is that subjects may lawfully depose a wrongful ruler. It was to extend and confirm the rebellion that he wrote his Detectio, a personal attack on the Queen designed to render her unfit for support in the eyes of England and the rest of Europe. It was in the interests of his party that he wrote his powerful vernacular pamphlets against the Hamiltons and against Maitland of Lethington. And it was to justify, in the eyes of Europe and of posterity, the same rebellion that Buchanan undertook to write the story of his country, the greater part of which embraces his own times. In justifying the revolt of his party against the authority of Mary, however, Buchanan used the only method known to him: attack on the other side. Philosophically, he had said what he could in the De jure regni. In the History, he brings his attention to bear on the political aspects: the unfitness of the Queen to rule, the

righteousness of the rebels' cause. His account of Mary's reign is designed, consciously and uncompromisingly, to discredit Mary and to glorify her enemies. It is, in effect, an indictment of the Queen, as one-sided and deliberate as the Detectio itself. In its context, with its finer tissues and loftier tone, it is vastly more powerful, as its acceptance for so many generations has testified. Here Buchanan's scope is wider, his imagination less restricted, than in the Detectio. He can manipulate the historical characters with whom he is concerned with greater liberty; pass freer judgment; dispense with argued proofs; apportion blame and credit without fear or favour; for he is addressing posterity, not parties.

It is because of his preoccupation with the Queen's disastrous influence on Scottish affairs, perhaps, that Buchanan over-simplifies his account of the events of 1560. He plainly considered that the Treaty of Edinburgh was a triumph for the rebels, and that everything was progressing favourably towards a great new era of Scottish history, until the arrival of Mary shattered the nation's prospects. Accordingly he is highly selective in his treatment of events. His account of the proceedings of the parliament of August, 1560, for example, is very slight. Knox deals with this important parliament at great length. (1) Leslie and Pitscottie both

(1) Knox, I, 334 ff. I, nos. 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

devote some space to its enactments. (1) Buchanan deals with it in a single sentence: 'The appointed parliament was held in Edinburgh, in which the chief thing done was the advancement of the true faith.' This is a strangely casual treatment of a momentous event, which effectually established the reformation in Scotland. For one who was later to figure so largely among the reformers, Buchanan's neglect of the parliament is such that we must look for his motives. One or two possible reasons at once suggest themselves. One of the actions of the parliament was the sending of an embassy, consisting of Maitland, Morton, and Glencairn, to the court of Elizabeth, to propose a marriage between the English queen and the earl of Arran. (2) Buchanan makes no mention of this: he says merely that ambassadors were sent to thank Elizabeth for her assistance in the war. It is not difficult to perceive his motive in omitting the rest. As a Lennox-man, he would not wish to emphasise the exalted position of the Hamiltons, and their great influence and support, as demonstrated by the parliament's proposal.

This, however, explains only one omission. The most interesting feature of Buchanan's treatment of this parliament is his neglect of its great religious enactments. The explanation lies in Buchanan's personality. He was not a man

(1) Leslie, 448; Pitscottie, 171-72.

(2) Cal. Scot. Papers, I, nos. 885, 887, etc; Knox, I, 346.

greatly interested in religion. His friend Randolph said that he would not meddle with 'spiritualities.' (1) His whole concept of history is political rather than religious. Furthermore, his History was wholly political in design. Had he shared Knox's enthusiasm, he would have gloried in relating the activities of this important parliament. He ignores it because he is primarily concerned to deal with the secular relations between the Queen and the lords. At this point in his narrative he is leading up to his main subject - the personal government of Mary. Anything likely to disturb the smooth flow of his argument must be glossed over. Thus he swings hastily towards the events that took place in France, where the Queen was. There, too, Buchanan was at this time: no doubt he was more familiar with what happened there than the events in Scotland. In introducing the young Queen, Buchanan shows the consummate skill of a great advocate. He does not, like Knox, depict her as a Jezebel, naturally wanting in virtue. From the beginning his picture suggests rather weakness than wickedness. His appraisal of the situation at the French court during Mary's brief Queenship and widowhood is shrewdly near the mark. He stresses the fact that the Guises ruled

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 110.

(4) infra, 16 ff.

all, that the Queen was little more than a pawn in their hands. (1) He emphasises her youth, her susceptibility to persuasion, her love of pleasure, her essential femininity. He attributes her withdrawal from the French court, after her husband's death, to 'womanish jealousy,' (2) and her decision to return to Scotland to her preference for 'uncertain fortune combined with royal dignity to wealth without power.' (3) He makes it clear that her upbringing at the French court, the luxuries and narrow Catholicism which his party hated, had warped her character, turning her natural graces into vices. Her charms were widely famed and Buchanan readily acknowledges them: 'she was graced,' he says, 'with surpassing loveliness of form, the vigour of maturing youth, and fine qualities of mind.' But, he adds, 'the seeds of virtue, wizened by the allurements of luxury, would be prevented from reaching ripeness and fruition.' Her apparent charm was but 'a surface gloss of virtue,' soon to wear away and reveal the corrupt and vicious creature whom the nation later felt constrained to destroy. (4) One must appreciate the ingenuity of the picture. It explains so much: the young Queen's

(1) infra, 4 ff.

(2) infra, 7.

(3) infra, 9.

(4) infra, 16 ff., 51, etc.

attractiveness, her initial popularity, the nation's pride in her, expressed so vividly by Buchanan himself in his poem, Ad Mariam Illustrissimam Scotorum Reginam; and above all, the inevitability of her downfall. In one swift stroke he has provided the perfect justification for his party's revolt and his own tergiversation: it was not her inheritance, but her environment, he says in effect, that corrupted the Queen; and it was not herself, but what she had been made, that we have destroyed. (1) Her gift of the earldom of Moray, he

Buchanan's shrewd insight, however, did nothing to lessen the violence of his attack upon the Queen. He is completely ruthless in his denigration. The whole story of her reign is made to serve his bitter hostility. He has nothing good to say of her, and he endows her with motives and schemes so consistently evil as to make her character, long before he has finished the story, too bad to be true. The ingenuity of this first picture soon gives way to sheer detraction. In his efforts to blacken her he flies in the face of indisputable facts. He asserts, for example, that Mary hated her half-brother from the beginning, and schemed constantly against his life: (1) Whereas it is certain that until the eve of her marriage with Darnley Mary trusted and relied upon Moray.

(1) *infra*, 31, 33, 51, etc.
For several years Moray and Maitland managed the government

(1) *infra*, 31, 33, 51, etc.

(4) *infra*, 43, 51.

(5) *infra*, 17.

with an authority and assurance which could only have derived from a secure possession of the Queen's confidence. Buchanan, who was at court much of this time, must have been aware of this. Yet he depicts their relations as being uneasy from the first, owing to the moral degradation of the Queen and the sharply contrasting integrity of Moray. (1) Only a few weeks after her return to Scotland, he asserts, the Queen sent Moray on a punitive expedition to the Borders, in the hope that he would be killed. (2) Her gift of the earldom of Moray, he says, was designed to gain his consent to her extravagant way of life. (3) The purpose of her Northern Progress in 1562, according to Buchanan, was to eliminate Moray with the aid of the Gordons. (4) Indeed, the Queen's almost every action is made to imply some wicked design, usually aimed at Moray's life, because that alone stood between her and the despotism she craved. For Buchanan conceives Mary Stuart to be another Mary Tudor, in her unrelenting zeal to re-establish a Roman Catholic autocracy. (5) Though he seems to subordinate the theme to his personal onslaught against Mary's character, he propounds the theory - so earnestly promulgated by Knox - that Mary was determined to destroy the reformation settlement and

(1) infra, 33 etc.

(2) infra, 31.

(3) infra, 36.

(4) infra, 48 ff.

(5) infra, 13.

and re-instate the old faith. The argument is not hotly pursued in Buchanan's narrative. He uses it only when it can be made to serve his main purpose of depicting the Queen's depravity and hatred of Moray and his friends. Buchanan, after the manner of his time, shows little understanding of political or religious movements. He is primarily concerned with personalities, their actions and their reactions upon one another. And of all the historical figures in his narrative, two occupy the centre of the stage: the Queen and the earl of Moray. Thus before we consider Buchanan's treatment of the important incidents in the period, we must examine his interpretation of the part played by Moray.

.....

Buchanan's interpretation of the historical character of Moray is much less subtle than his treatment of the Queen. Moray is obviously the hero of the tale. Throughout his narrative, Buchanan sustains a skilful contrast between the nobility, integrity, and courage with which he endows Moray, and the moral depravity he attributes to the Queen. His manipulation of every incident in favour of Moray is glaringly evident. It is not enough to ascribe this to Buchanan's political partisanship. If that were the sole motivation, the historian would have been content to interpret in Moray's favour all the events which involved some open conflict of opinion; but Buchanan does more than this: he invents incidents to illustrate the Queen's malice towards Moray; he emphasises Moray's selfless devotion to duty and

contrasts him with other protestant leaders; he goes so far as to single out Moray as the only disinterested statesman in the country. Anyone who had offended or disagreed with Moray becomes, by implication, a traitor. So blatant is Buchanan's prejudice in this instance that one suspects he protests too much.

The suggestion put forward by Straloch and others that Buchanan designed the History as a kind of Argumentum ad rem to pave the way for Moray's elevation to the throne, finds curious confirmation from the text. Buchanan's earliest references to Moray are casual: and he is designated proximi Regis nothus, the late king's bastard. In his narrative of Mary's personal reign, however, Buchanan never refers to Moray's illegitimacy. (1) He consistently calls him 'the Queen's brother' - never 'the Queen's half-brother,' though he calls the Douglasses, the legitimate sons of Moray's mother, the Regent's 'half-brothers.' This cannot, with Buchanan, be considered a mere idiosyncrasy. His Latin is nervously precise. It is clearly deliberate: a consequence of his strong predilection for elective monarchy, which leads him to ignore, throughout his History, the legal significance of bastardy as a bar to succession. The theory that Buchanan was paving the way for Moray's elevation, however, cannot be valid. The Books dealing with Mary's personal reign were written after the infant James had been crowned, not before.

(1) It is true that Moray had been legitimated. (4 Feb. 1561/2, R.S.S., V, no. 974) But this technical point is not enough to explain Buchanan's attitude.

This is proved by the fact that in the History Buchanan used the Detectio, the Book of Articles, and Lennox's papers - all of which were drawn up after James's establishment on the throne. (1) It is probable, indeed, that these latest Books, were written after the death of Moray. (2) Yet there can be no doubt that Buchanan consciously ignores the dubious antecedence of his patron. The explanation is that he is concerned always to depict the fitness of Moray for leadership, in order to point the lamentable contrast between so admirable a man and so despicable a woman.

The actual character of Moray has been much debated. Few historical figures can have been so variously interpreted. His every action has been attributed to self-interest on the one hand and upright statesmanship on the other. The truth must lie somewhere between these extremes; but it is well-nigh impossible to make an accurate assessment of a character whose behaviour was controverted even among his contemporaries. Of one thing, however, there can be no doubt: Buchanan's picture of Moray is grossly over-drawn. He is ruthless in perverting facts and situations in order to show up his hero in the best possible light. Examples are not difficult to find. According to Buchanan, the lord

(1) See infra, clxv ff., no. 1034.

(2) See supra, iv. Randolph, the protestant lords found the choice of envoy a 'difficult point.' James Stuart was found 'mostest for divers respects.' (ibid., no. 968)

(4) C.S.P. For., 1661-62, no. 967.

(5) infra, 10.

James, on the death of Francis, 'hastened as fast as he could to the Queen.' (1) In fact, although he seems to have considered going privately (2) James dallied in Scotland long after the news of the French king's death had reached him, in order to attend a meeting of the protestant lords which was called to discuss the new situation. He went to France as the officially appointed representative of his party, not of his own volition. (3) En route to France, he spent some days at the court of Elizabeth, to make her 'participant' with his mission, and no doubt to receive some intimation of her own wishes. (4) According to Buchanan, Mary determined to return to Scotland partly because of the 'persuasions of her brother James... especially as he was the one in whom she could put the utmost faith, being her natural brother.' (5) But we know that the Queen had already made up her mind to return, and had already intimated her intention to the Scots estates. It may be that the assurances of loyalty offered by James Stuart reinforced that intention, as Buchanan says. But we know from Throckmorton's letters that, although the English ambassador had hopes that the young Queen would give Moray powers of regency until her return, he was forced to report

(1) infra, 7.

(2) C.S.P.For., 1560-61, no. 1034.

(3) According to Randolph, the protestant lords found the choice of envoy a 'difficult point.' James Stuart was found 'meetest for divers respects.' (ibid, no. 968)

(4) C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 967.

(5) infra, 10. 1561-62, nos. 133, 151, 153.

(3) Leslie, History, Sonn. Club, 294. (3) Of infra, 35.

that no such charge had been committed to him. (1) Furthermore, the lord James's was not the only mission sent to Mary from the Scots. The leading catholic lords, Huntly, Atholl, Crawford, Sutherland, Caithness, the earl Marischal, and several bishops, had commissioned John Leslie to visit the Queen and promise her faithful service and duty of the chief men of the North of Scotland. Leslie tells us that he warned the Queen to beware of the lord James, who was an enemy of the old faith and even aimed at the throne; he urged her to land at Aberdeen, so that her loyal catholic subjects could convoy her to Edinburgh with an impressive show of strength. The lord James, says Leslie, demanded from Mary the earldom of Moray. (2) Of all this there is nothing in Buchanan. He makes no mention of the catholic mission; he ignores the existence of a catholic opposition to the policies of the reformers. His only concession to the truth of the political situation in Scotland is that he uses the term omni boni instead of just omni when he claims that any action is undertaken with unanimity. (3) For Buchanan, the anti-reformation party did not exist; there existed only the upholders of the true faith, and certain traitors whose self-interest induced them to work for the destruction of the reformed church, the chief representative and the shining light of which was the earl of Moray.

.....

A remarkable example of Buchanan's determination to

(1) C.S.P.For., 1561-62, nos. 133, 151, 158.

(2) Leslie, History, Bann. Club, 294. (3) Cf. infra, 36.

maintain this attitude is his account of the 'Gordon rebellion' of 1562. Buchanan devotes a lengthy space to this affair, and it is easy to understand why. It was Moray's first major victory over one of his most powerful opponents; it was a decisive clash between the protestant and catholic groups in Scotland, and it ended in the complete ruin of the Roman Church's strongest adherents. The incident, however, held elements which Buchanan must have found hard to explain: why did the Queen venture to the North in the first place? Why did Huntly commit the supreme folly of taking arms against a sovereign who might have been expected to sustain his own religious and political policies? Why was the Queen almost wholly guided by Moray and Maitland to the complete exclusion of her most powerful Romanist baron? The problem has always puzzled historians; and Buchanan was faced with the task of accounting for the event in the light of his own prejudices. Characteristically, he followed his habit of 'inventing where he wanted.' (1) He gives us what Andrew Lang called 'an interesting historical romance' on the subject, (2) which at once explains the affair to the benefit of Buchanan's case against Mary and other enemies, and to greater glory of Moray and his friends.

(1) Melville uses the phrase in connection with Buchanan's conversation. (Memoirs, 262)

(2) Lang, History, II, 120.

George Gordon, fourth earl of Huntly, is the victim of many libels in the History; and in this instance the historian had a fruitful subject, for in spite of attempts to cleanse the earl's character, (1) there is sufficient evidence to show that Huntly was a ruthless, vainglorious and unattractive man, whose apparent devotion to the catholic cause proved as embarrassing as it was egocentric. His career seems to have been one long effort to increase his personal wealth, his territorial power and political strength. In this he succeeded so well that at the height of his career he had aggrandized his rich inheritance to such an extent as to give him an almost inevitable right to the Lord Lieutenancy of the North and the Lord Chancellorship of the realm.

His position as recognised leader of the catholic party (2) was sufficient to make him the enemy of Moray, and thus of Buchanan; but there were other reasons. Huntly had obtained a grant of the earldom of Moray after the death of James Stewart, an illegitimate brother of James V. (3) Of all possible titles and estates in the kingdom, this would be the one most likely to appeal to the Lord James, Mary's half-brother: the precedent was clear and the prize was rich.

(1) e.g. Gordon's History of the Earldom of Sutherland and the Records of Aboyne.

(2) C.S.P., Spanish, 1558-1567, nos. 143, 147; Pollen, Papal Negotiations, 154; Leslie's History, Bann. Club, 294.

(3) Reg. Mag. Sig. 1546-1580, 71.

Leslie claimed that James requested the earldom of Moray when he met the Queen in France in April, 1561. (1) Certainly Mary lost little time in granting the earldom to her brother: in November, 1561, Randolph reported that he 'was like shortly to be earl of Moray' (2) and in January, 1562, the gift was actually made. (3) Here is sufficient reason for bitter enmity between Huntly and Moray - sufficient to whet their political enmity to the point of personal hatred. Buchanan shared the personal grudges of his patrons; and in regard to Huntly he had two patrons whose hostility he could share: Gilbert, earl of Cassilis, was also an enemy of Huntly for a long time. Buchanan had charge of the education of young

Buchanan relates two stories to illustrate the earl of Huntly's ruthlessness in ridding himself of his enemies. The first is that of John, Master of Forbes, whose trial and legal murder is described in Book XIV of Buchanan's History. (4) Forbes was tried and executed for high treason in 1536, one of several people connected with the exiled Angus to be so tried at this time. It would certainly appear that Huntly had a hand in the destruction of this young man. Huntly personally

(1) Leslie's History, Bann. Club, 294.

(2) Cal. State Papers, For., 1561-1562, no. 653.

(3) R.S.S., V, no. 966.

(4) Aikman's History, II, 316.

(7) R.S.S., V, no. 966.

delated him on June 12, 1536. (1) The jury was clearly 'packed' with friends of Huntly, many of them attached to the earl by bonds of manrent. (2) It was generally believed that the principal witness, one Strachan, was in the earl's pay. (3) Furthermore, it was known that Forbes had earned the ill-will of Huntly some time previously.

The second story touched Buchanan personally. William Mackintosh, 15th captain of the clan Chattan, succeeded to the captaincy in 1524, as a child of three. From 1530 to 1532, he lived with the young earl of Cassilis, a relation. (4) About the same time Buchanan was tutor to the young earl. (5) It seems likely that Buchanan had charge of the education of young Mackintosh as well: perhaps he is hinting at this when he hints that Mackintosh had benefited from good instruction. (6)

Mackintosh became the active leader of his clan at the age of nineteen, in 1540. (7) In 1544, he signed a band of assistance to Huntly, which committed him to only limited service, and in spite of Huntly's efforts, he would not go

(1) Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, I, 183.

(2) For the jury, see Pitcairn, I, 183. For evidence of attachment to Huntly, see Scots Peerage, IV, 180 (Leslie of Pitcaple); 185 (Leslie of Coclarochy); V, 372 (Leslie of New Leslie). See also Spalding Club Miscellany, IV, 197, 200.

(3) Calderwood's History, I, 112; Pitcairn, op. cit., I, 183.

(4) M.E.Mackintosh, Clan Mackintosh and the Clan Chattan, 15-17.

(5) Hume Brown, George Buchanan, 80. (6) infra, 38.

(7) M.E.Mackintosh, op. cit.

(8) Scots Peerage, IV, 183.

further. (1) He was, however, made the Deputy Lieutenant of the North, while Huntly was Lord Lieutenant. In 1549 Huntly received the earldom of Moray, and so became the feudal superior of Clan Chattan. For some years the earl had been jealous of the power of the former earl of Moray, and it would seem that he now resented the authority and independence of Mackintosh. He deprived Mackintosh of the Deputy Lieutenantship and in 1550 he seized him and took him to Aberdeen to stand trial for conspiracy against the Lord Lieutenant, who was, of course, Huntly himself. (2) The trial was a mockery. The earl himself was the judge, and the jury were 'omnes clientes Huntlei.' (3) The citizens of Aberdeen were indignant, and apparently Huntly had to carry his victim to his seat at Strathbogie, where the hapless young man was hanged. (4) Buchanan states that the execution was carried out under the supervision of the 'stern-hearted' countess, during the earl's absence. Of this there is no real evidence. Buchanan's picture of the countess of Huntly is elsewhere repudiated. (5) The incident, however, created a furore of indignation among the friends of Mackintosh and the enemies of Huntly. The provost of Aberdeen, Thomas Menzies, appealed to Parliament.

(1) Spalding Club Miscellany, IV, 213, 260; Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections, I, 226 ff.

(2) Leslie, History, Bann. Club, 235.

(3) Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections, I, 226 f.

(4) ibid; Leslie, 235.

(5) Records of Aboyne, 453.

But Huntly, secure in the Queen-Regent's favour, proceeded to share the dead man's property and offices among his own favourites. His lands were given to Alexander, lord Gordon, the earl's oldest son; and the victim's cousin, who had been a chief witness at the trial, was made joint sheriff-depute of Inverness. (1) A few years later, however, Huntly lost the Regent's favour because he failed in a punitive expedition against John Moydertach and Clan Ranald. He was deprived of the earldom of Moray and fined heavily. (2) This was in 1554. In 1557 the earl of Cassilis summoned Huntly before Parliament to hear the public repudiation of his actions. The sentence of forfeiture which he had passed on William Mackintosh was declared 'reduced, rescinded, and annulled.' The death sentence was declared illegal, and the earl's reputation was blackened more than ever. (3) In 1554

Buchanan's version of the story is sketchy but more or less accurate - the version, doubtless, that remained in the memories of Huntly's many enemies. For Buchanan the significance of these tales of past misdeeds was the very real enmity that persisted between the earl and the lord James, now called the earl of Moray. He follows up the tale of Mackintosh with the allegation that Huntly, enraged to see the Queen's half-brother

(1) Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections, I, 226 ff.

(2) Records of Aboyne, 455; Diurnal, 51.

(3) Leslie, History, 235.

(4) Records of Aboyne, 455; Diurnal, 51.

so powerful, presented Mary with a 'book' accusing Moray of aspiring to the crown. This is possible, of course, but without other confirmation, one cannot put trust on Buchanan's allegations. He refers, perhaps, to the 'petition' Huntly is said to have presented to the Queen on the great urgency of the restoration of the catholic religion. (1)

On 27 June, 1562, there was a violent outbreak of fighting in the streets of Edinburgh, between Sir John Gordon, third son of the earl of Huntly, and James Ogilvy of Cardell, Master of the Queen's Household. (2) This was the result of a long-standing feud between the Ogilvies and the Gordons. In 1545 Alexander Ogilvy had entered into a contract with the earl of Huntly, granting John Gordon his lands in Banff and Aberdeen, thus disinheriting his son James Ogilvy. There is no clear evidence as to the reason for this transaction. In 1554 Alexander Ogilvy died, and the young John Gordon married his widow - the stepmother of James Ogilvy. (3) James then entered the service of the Queen Regent, and later that of Mary, becoming one of the Masters of her Household. He was styled 'Lord Ogilvy,' and as Master of the Household he accompanied Mary on her northern progress and supervised the accounts contained in the Despences de la Maison Royale. (4) There is

(1) Cal. State Papers, Spanish, 1558-1567, no. 143.

(2) Edinburgh Burgh Records, III, 138-139.

(3) Scots Peerage, IV, 20-26.

(4) Exchequer Rolls, XIX, 233, 337, 379; Acts of the Lord High Treasurer, XI, 109; see also Scot. Hist. Review, XXXIII, 1, 19.

no doubt that his long and close attachment to the Queen enabled Ogilvy to gain the sympathy of his sovereign in his bitter quarrel with the Gordons. Sir John Gordon was temporarily warded in Edinburgh Castle, but broke ward in July. (1) Knox makes much of his going at once to his father in the north and 'making great provisions in Strathbogie, and in other parts, as it were to receive the Queen.' (2) Actually, such 'escapes' were not considered very seriously, and this one was probably made under licence, as a day of law had been appointed to be held at Aberdeen on the last day of August. (3) Both Gordon and Ogilvy were charged not to bring more than a hundred men, on each side. (4)

It has been thought that this affair was the chief motivation for the northern progress made by the Queen in August, 1562. (5) But as Hay Fleming has pointed out, intimation of such a journey had been made to the Town Council of Aberdeen as early as the previous January. (6) He suggests that the project was postponed on account of the protracted negotiations for a meeting between Mary and Elizabeth, and that the journey was undertaken after the final postponement of the

(1) Accts.L.H.T., XI, 194.

(2) Knox (ed. Dickinson) II, 54.

(3) Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, XI, 195.

(4) ibid. (5) Chalmers, Life of Mary, II, 299, 300.

(6) Burgh Records of Aberdeen, Spalding Club, I, 339.

interview. (1) Certainly there was no question of open rebellion by the Gordons at the time of Mary's departure for the north: it is inconceivable that the journey was undertaken as a punitive expedition to quell Huntly and confirm Moray's possession of his new earldom, as has been suggested. (2) The earl was too powerful for such an expedition to be undertaken light-heartedly; and it was only after the Gordons had openly raised their standard that Mary summoned her lieges against them. (3) No doubt Moray was glad of the opportunity to enter into his estates with royal protection; but it is doubtful whether such an arduous journey would have been undertaken solely for this purpose. Yet one suspects that some reason existed for Mary's decision, more specific than that suggested by Hay Fleming: for little real preparation seems to have been made for the Queen's entertainment in the north, and Randolph reported that the journey was 'rather devised by herself than greatly approved by her council.' (4)

Buchanan's version of the affair is that there was an elaborate plot hatched by the Guises and the Pope, to rid the country of Moray. (5) They wrote to Mary, he alleges, telling her to encourage the ambitions of Huntly and his son John, who was popularly supposed to be in love with the Queen. The idea

(1) Hay Fleming, 300, n. 2.

(2) *infra*, 52.

(2) Keith, II, 159, n. 2.

(4) *Accts.*, II, 21.

(3) Sir John Gordon raised his army in the beginning of September, 1562. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 218) Mary summoned the lieges 11 and 14 September. (Accts. L.H.T., XI, 200, 201)

(4) Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1132. (5) *infra*, 48 ff

seems to have been - Buchanan's account is confused - that Mary should use the Gordons to destroy Moray. For this reason Mary 'pretended a great desire to visit the northern parts of Scotland,' presumably to supervise the elimination of Moray; but the rebellious behaviour of Sir John Gordon 'prevented her acceding' to the proposals of Huntly anent restoring catholicism, and she was forced to allow Moray to put down her allies. At one point, Buchanan implies that the murder of Moray was suggested to John Gordon by Mary; (1) at another he says that Huntly was 'uncertain how the Queen might behave after the murder;' (2) at another point there seems to be doubt as to whether the Queen would approve the murder she herself had planned! (3) Clearly the necessity of involving Mary herself in every evil project has led the historian into difficulties.

Buchanan's 'historical romance' would be negligible if it did not reveal a current belief that Mary's northern progress was somehow connected with religious affairs. Knox also associated the Gordon rebellion with a catholic plan for restoring the old church. (4) We know that wild rumours of this nature were circulating at this time. (5) There was some reason for suspicion. A papal envoy, the jesuit Nicholas de Gouda, arrived in Scotland at the end of June,

(1) infra, 49.

(2) infra, 52.

(3) infra, 55.

(4) Knox, II, 54.

(5) Pollen, Papal Negotiations, 115.

and had interviews with the Queen towards the end of July. His mission was to invite Scots bishops to the Council of Trent, to examine the Queen's situation in regard to religion, and exhort her to do her utmost for her faith. It soon became evident to the envoy that it was out of the question for him to deliver the papal briefs personally to the bishops. Even the Queen was secretive about his visit, and the bishops he saw were terrified. Mary asked him to hand the letters over to her, promising to have them delivered. (1) It appears that de Gouda carried briefs for other leading catholics, three of which he delivered by means of Edmund Hay, and one of them, apparently, to the earl of Huntly. (2) But the Queen retained some of the original briefs in her own possession, undertaking personal responsibility for their delivery. One of these was to the bishop of Aberdeen. (3) In her progress to Inverness, the Queen visited several houses likely to have strong catholic connections: at least two such visits - to the sub-priory at Grange and the abbey of Kinloss - were not dictated by the need for lodging. (4) It is not inconceivable, then, that the journey was undertaken partly with a view to delivering these

(1) Pollen, Papal Negotiations, 120.

(2) ibid, 122, 154.

(3) ibid, 153.

(4) Scot. Hist. Review, XXXIII, I, 19.

briefs, and partly to survey the catholic potentiality of the north.

Whatever the reason for the expedition, there is no doubt that the Queen was incensed by the behaviour of the Gordons during her journey. She arrived at Aberdeen on Thursday 27 August, (1) and the court of Justiciary appointed to examine the Gordon-Ogilvy affair was held in the Tolbooth on Monday 31 August, (2) John Gordon compeared, and agreed to remain in the Provost's lodging until he heard the decision of the Queen. Next day he was told to ward himself in Stirling Castle within seven days. (3) He refused, because, Buchanan says, the governor of Stirling, Lord Erskine, was Moray's uncle and a strong enemy. An obvious reason for the refusal, of course, is that the Queen's command spelt defeat at the hands of Ogilvy and his friends, and the loss of large possessions, if not more serious consequences. Mary left Aberdeen on 1 September, and spent the night at Balquhain, the home of William Leslie, an adherent of the Gordons. (4) Here, according to Buchanan, the Gordons hoped to assassinate Moray, but Leslie dissuaded them. This is probably an invention; Buchanan's knowledge is clearly scanty - he calls

(1) Scot. Hist. Review, XXXIII, I, 19.

(2) Reg. Privy Council, I, 218.

(3) ibid.

(4) Scot. Hist. Review, XXXIII, I, 19.

(5) See Gordon's map, Black's Atlas, 1794. Conditions in 1652 would not have been better than in the 17th century.

(7) Macfarlane's Geographical Dictionary, II, 276.

the laird John Leslie, who had died in France the year before (1) - and William Leslie was considered loyal enough to be summoned to fight against Huntly. (2)

From Balquhain the Queen rode to Rothiemay. (3) Buchanan and Knox both state that she intended to visit Strathbogie, the seat of the earl of Huntly, but that she changed her mind on the way from Rothiemay towards the castle of Strathbogie, because she heard that John Gordon had broken ward. (4) This is incorrect. Randolph wrote that the Queen had refused to visit Strathbogie before she left Aberdeen. (5) His statement is borne out by the topographical nature of the area. There was only one proper road from Aberdeen to Inverness, passing by Balquhain, through Strathbogie to Rothiemay, thence through Strathisla to Elgin. (6) This road passed by the very door of Strathbogie Castle (7) and it would have been unreasonable for the Queen to have passed by the fairest and most sumptuously furnished house in the country - after an unusually long ride of twenty miles - unless she had already determined to do so. She offered a deliberate slight to the

(1) Historical Records of the Family of Leslie, (ed. C. Leslie) III, 26.

(2) Reg. Privy Council, I, 222.

(3) Scot. Hist. Review, XXXIII, I, 19.

(4) infra, 54; Knox, II, 58.

(5) C.S.P.For., 1562-63, no. 554.

(6) See Gordon of Straloch's map, Blaeu's Atlas, 1654. Conditions in 1562 would not have been better than in the 17th century.

(7) Macfarlane's Geographical Collections, II, 276.

earl in refusing his hospitality. We know that Randolph and Argyll were wise enough to throw discretion to the winds and accept the luxuries of Strathbogie for a couple of nights. (1)

The Queen spent the night of 2 September at Rothiemay. The castle belonged to Lord Saltoun, a friend and relation by marriage of the earl of Moray. Next day she rode a short distance - about six miles - to the castle at Grange, a sub-priory of the abbey of Kinloss. This visit could not have been dictated by the necessities of travelling. Her next stopping-place was the earl of Atholl's castle of Balveny, no more than twenty miles from Rothiemay, little more than a normal day's ride. Grange was not on the direct route. Why did the Queen go there? A possible reason is that the long ride from Balquhain to Rothiemay had exhausted Mary, and she was glad to rest a day at the well-provided fortalice of Grange. But no doubt there were other places on the road that would have supplied this need; in spite of Randolph's complaints (which were probably connected with his perennial demands for more money) the countryside was prosperous and contained a large number of good houses and castles. Another possible explanation is that Mary wished to see the house, which was something of a show-piece in that district. Still, it remains possible that the visit was connected with the Queen's self-imposed task of delivering papal briefs.

(1) C.S.P.For., 1562-63, no. 648.

The earl of Atholl entertained the Queen for the weekend at Balveny Castle. From there she crossed the Spey at the ferry of Boharm, and rode on to Elgin, where she spent two nights. On 8 September Mary reached Kinloss Abbey, where the Abbot, Walter Reid, entertained her for a day. On 10 September she was at Darnway Castle, the hereditary seat of the Earldom of Moray. Here there was a meeting of the Privy Council, at which it was decided that John Gordon should be put to the horn. It was here, probably, that Mary formally recognised her half-brother as earl of Moray. On 11 September the Queen was in Inverness. (1)

This detailed recital of the Queen's itinerary throws much light not only on the errors in accepted narratives but also on the formal charges brought against the Gordons at the trial in 1563. Huntly was charged with conspiring to attack Mary on 30 August, 1562, while she was in Aberdeen. (2) The motive ascribed to him, of course, was that he and John Gordon wished to avoid the day of law appointed for the following day. The plan was said to have failed; Buchanan attributes this to the watchfulness of Moray, whom he considered the chief intended victim. Knox, on the other hand, says that Huntly and the countess attended court and

(1) For Mary's Itinerary north of Aberdeen see Scottish Hist. Review, XXXIII, I, 19.

(2) A.P.S., II, 572.

'were supposed to have the greatest credit.' (1) We know that John Gordon did compear on 31 August. (2) It is unlikely that he would have done so if a treasonable plot to prevent this had just failed. We have noticed the story put forward by Buchanan and Knox that Mary refused to visit Strathbogie only at the last moment, when within sight of the castle, because she had heard of John Gordon's refusal to put himself in ward at Stirling. The story is false because Mary was bound to pass Strathbogie before she reached Rothiemay; but also because she could not possibly have heard any such report about John Gordon. She left Aberdeen on 1 September; the same day Gordon was ordered to ward himself at Stirling within seven days. (3) Mary left Rothiemay on 3 September. Gordon had still the better part of a week in which to obey her command; there was no justification for assuming that he had disobeyed, wherever he spent the first few days.

Another charge against the Gordons which seems to have little basis in reality is the allegation that on 3 September they 'imagined and devised in Strathbogie' to 'put violent hands' on the Queen and her councillors 'wherever opportunity might serve.' (4) We know that Randolph and Argyll were

(1) Knox, II, 58.

(2) Reg. Privy Council, I, 218.

(3) ibid.

(4) A.P.S., II, 573.

were actually living at Strathbogie at this time, the 2 and 3 September. (1) If anything suspicious were to be noticed - even if John Gordon were there - Randolph would certainly have mentioned it. The truth seems to be that although Mary was induced to administer an open rebuff to the Gordons - either because of their behaviour or through the persuasions of their enemies - there was no reason for supposing them rebellious, until the with-holding of the castle of Inverness on 11 September. This is borne out by the fact that it was not until the 11th September that the Queen summoned her lieges to come to her assistance. (2)

The protestant lords who accompanied the Queen must have been pleased rather than sorry when the Deputy Governor of Inverness, Alexander Gordon, refused to give up the castle. Mary was at last convinced that a trial of strength must come between her and the most powerful family of the north. Strong measures were taken: powder was bought and gunners employed to force the tiny garrison to surrender. Letters of proclamation were sent out to Nairn, Elgin, Aberdeenshire, and even as far as Forfar, Brechin, Perth, summoning all and sundry to come to the aid of the Queen. (3) The castle was soon taken, and the Governor hanged. Alexander Gordon's motive for with-holding the castle is not known. The Hereditary keeper was George,

(1) C.S.P.For., 1562-63, no. 648.

(2) Accts. L.H.T., XI, 200, 201.

(3) ibid, 197, 200, 201.

Lord Gordon, Huntly's eldest son. At his trial, George Gordon was accused of art and part in the with-holding of the castle, but there is no proof that he was even in the north at this time. It is practically certain, however, that John Gordon had taken refuge in one of his houses, Findlater or Auchindoun, and perhaps he had sent a messenger to ask Alexander Gordon's help. This would explain the reference to 'spies' in Inverness, contained in the accusation of George Gordon. Chalmers maintains that the garrison were entitled to refuse to surrender the fortress to anyone other than the appointed Keeper; (1) but Hay Fleming points out that the castle belonged to the Queen, however long it had been in the hands of Gordons. (2) And it is not certain that the Queen demanded surrender except in the traditional form of the monarch's entry to a royal seat. Everything, in fact, points to this incident as being the first flare-up of the Queen's conflict with the Gordons. According to Randolph, it was only after the Inverness incident that the earl of Huntly raised forces against the Queen. (3)

Mary returned to Aberdeen by way of Spynie, Cullen, Craigboyne, Banff, Turriff, and Esslemont (near Fyvie). (4)

(1) Life of Mary, I, 85.

(2) Hay Fleming, 302, n. 13.

(3) C.S.P.For., 1562-63, no. 688.

(4) MS Despences de la Maison Royale, 1562.

Randolph wrote that Huntly was expected to intercept the Queen at the Spey (1) but this proved false; at the trial the earl was charged with planning an ambush at this point. (2) On the way back, the Queen sent men to demand the surrender of the Gordon castles of Auchindoun and Findlater, and these were with-held. The Queen arrived back at Aberdeen on 22 September, where she stayed until 5 November. Meanwhile Huntly had taken the fatal step of collecting an army; a step which led to his own destruction and the temporary ruin of his house.

There can be no doubt that the case against the Gordons was more artificial than genuine. We have seen flaws in the stories put forward by Knox and Buchanan; these versions may be called the orthodox protestant account of the affair. There are also contradictions in the official indictment of the Gordons in the summer of 1563. Some of these may be merely clerical; - but some appear to have been trumped up by enemies. This is not astonishing: the punishment of rebels would not be stinted merely for the lack of specific accusations, when these could be invented to most people's satisfaction. The important question is the real attitude of Mary toward the affair. It has been generally considered that the Queen concurred wholeheartedly in quelling the rebellious Gordons, though both Knox and Buchanan hint that

(1) C.S.P.For., 1562-63, no. 648.

(2) A.P.S., II, 573.

she was not happy about it. J. H. Pollen has thrown significant light on this situation by comparing two letters, one from Mary to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Pope, and the other written the same day in Lethington's hand to the same persons. The latter was unfortunately lost by fire in 1865, but an idea of the contents remains to us in the Cardinal's account of it in a letter to Austria, and in the description of its contents in the British Museum catalogue. The former remains in the form of an Italian translation printed in Labanoff. It would seem, as Pollen points out, that a contradiction in emphasis existed between the two accounts, Mary's personal one and that of Lethington. Mary seems to be anxious to defend herself from the charge of acting against her own faith; only necessity compelled her to fight the Gordons. The Lethington letter is triumphant in its account of the defeat of the Gordons; and it says that Mary was informed of the Gordons' plot in time to raise men to defend herself. (1)

It is not impossible that the affair was a clash for power between two powerful parties, and that the Gordon-Ogilvy dispute was used by Moray and his associates as a pretext for a trial of strength. Whatever the Queen's motive for her northern progress, it had been arranged that the Gordon-Ogilvy dispute would be settled by her in Aberdeen. We

(1) Pollen, Papal Negotiations, lviii, 162 ff.

know that Ogilvy was with the Queen as her Master of Household. We know from Randolph that she was angry with John Gordon for having broken ward. At the court of justiciary in Aberdeen, John Gordon had lost the case and was ordered to return to ward. Probably at his request, Inverness Castle was with-held from the Queen. The situation offered attractive possibilities to Moray and his party. By joining their persuasions to Ogilvy's, by aggravating the Queen's annoyance with the Gordons, they might effectively weaken the power of one of their most powerful opponents. Furthermore, the downfall of Huntly would mean that the supreme power in the North would fall into the hands of Moray, as the holder of one of the next most-powerful earldoms. The 'plots' alleged against the Gordons were probably factitious, as we have seen. It is possible that they were invented by Moray and Lethington to rouse the Queen's irritation with the Gordons to the point of open conflict. (1)

.....

Buchanan depicts Moray as a natural leader of the people. He is careful to stress his patron's claims to authority: his blood-relationship with the Queen, his leading position in the reforms' party, his courage and

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- (1) It is significant that much of the Gordon property was subsequently shared between Moray and his friends, and that Ogilvy seems to have paid Moray for his help by a gift of land. (R.S.S., V, nos, 1210, 1239, 1307, 1308, etc)

integrity. But his anxiety to build up a picture of the nobility, trustworthiness and authority of Moray, and at the same time to follow up his assertion that the Queen hated and plotted against her half-brother, leads Buchanan into difficulties. The force of his indictment of the Queen would be weakened if he were to over-emphasise Moray's power during the first four years of Mary's personal reign. Accordingly, Buchanan tends to slur over, or entirely omit, events which indicate the harmony that undoubtedly existed between the Queen and her chief ministers. He hardly mentions the sensible compromise in religious affairs by which the Queen accepted the reformation in exchange for toleration of her own private worship, which did so much to pacify the country. He makes no reference to the negotiations of 1564, concerning a match between Mary and Leicester, in which Moray and Maitland played the leading part. Though Moray was seldom absent from court, except for brief missions in the Queen's service, Buchanan consistently implies that Mary passed her time in extravagant luxury while Moray lived and worked in an atmosphere of holy sobriety which was a constant reproach to the dissolute life of his sister. It was this preoccupation with his own thesis, perhaps, to the neglect of the truth, that induced Buchanan to make his most glaring omission - the omission of a whole year.

Buchanan's narrative leaps from the summer of 1563 to the autumn of 1564. Coincidental reasons for this curious omission suggest themselves: carelessness on the part of

of the author, or that an amanuensis put together the last part of the History, and inadvertently lost a few sheets. This last may be dismissed at once. Though it has been suggested, (1) there is no evidence that Buchanan left the supervision of his manuscripts to his clerk. The cohesiveness of the style precludes the idea of an intermediary hand. We know, indeed, that he was personally supervising the work even when it was in the hands of the printer. That Buchanan was careless in his compilation of facts is evident enough from his bad chronology. His indifference to the accuracy of details is characteristic of the school of historiography to which he belonged. But he was far from careless in his relation of events which he considered to be important. His grasp of a situation was remarkably strong. Had anything occurred in the missing year which was important to Buchanan's design, it is inconceivable that it would have been omitted. In fact, however, nothing did occur during the months he ignored, except such incidents as demonstrate the close harmony between the Queen and her chief advisers. Buchanan's neglect of these months, therefore, was probably deliberate. The chief features of the months he omits are the busy marriage negotiations. The project of a marriage between Mary and Don Carlos of Spain was

(1) By R. H. Mahon, Indictment of Mary, Queen of Scots.

discussed secretly, and it is not surprising that the reformers knew little of it. But during 1564 there was continual talk of a marriage between the Scots Queen and Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. In the negotiations concerning this match Moray and Maitland played the leading parts; and they seem genuinely to have had the best interests of their Queen at heart. They were firm in their determination that Mary should not ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh to the detriment of her interests, and they laboured to convince the English that the most useful development in the relations between the two countries would be the recognition of Mary's claim to succession to the English throne. All this time Moray seems to have had the management of affairs in Scotland. Though the Queen was careful to conduct her continental business in secret, she seems to have been content to allow Moray and Maitland to dominate her in matters of domestic policy. Harmony and good feeling reigned supreme. But all this has no place in Buchanan's design. It would have been difficult for him to reconcile his thesis with the evident tranquillity which blessed the country at this time. Since the peaceful, busy months of 1564 conform ill with his purpose, he ignores them. No sooner has he related his 'historical romance' on the Gordon affair than he swings rapidly towards the next event which captured his interest - the Darnley marriage.

.....

Buchanan is somewhat at a loss to explain the rupture between Moray and the Queen over the Darnley marriage. Here again there is a clash of his prejudices. As a Lennoxman he was determined to defend the character and honour of Darnley as far as he could; as the creature of Moray he wished to set his patron's behaviour in the best possible light. Moray's real motives for his opposition to the marriage were mixed. No doubt the most pressing factor in his reaction was the growing resentment of the 'godly,' who were becoming vociferous in their protests as early as April, 1565. The fact that Darnley was a papist alarmed them, as no doubt it alarmed Moray. Furthermore, it quickly became apparent that although she had allowed Darnley to visit Scotland, Elizabeth was opposed to the match, and she tried to prevent it, though it appears that Cecil was pursuing a tortuous policy of his own. (1) Moray seems to have based his general attitude to the problems of his time on two main elements: the reformed faith, and close association with England. Thus he could not but object to the marriage, since it tended to hurt his policy, and - perhaps equally important - it bade fair to end his own authority. Against all this, however, must be placed the

(1) infra, 68, n.2.

indubitable fact that Moray played a leading part in bringing Lennox and his son to Scotland. It would seem that Moray and Maitland tried to use Darnley as a pawn in their elaborate game with the English government on the question of Mary's claim to the English succession. They had encouraged his coming to Scotland in the hope that the possibility of a marriage between him and Mary would strengthen Mary's claim. Moray was certainly not averse to the idea of the marriage when it was first rumoured, but it seems likely that he had not expected it to materialise. It was only when it became evident that the Kirk, the English Queen, and the Hamiltons were prepared actively to resist the marriage, that Moray openly opposed it. With all this formidable support, he made his bid for the retention of power. Had he succeeded in overcoming the Queen, with the aid of the English, his authority would have been immense. As it was, he brought himself well nigh to complete ruin.

Buchanan's attachment to the Lennox family leads him to gloss over the resentment of the reformers at the proposed match. He states that the nobility were not averse to the marriage, for it would accrue to the advantage of the whole nation - his implication is that it would strengthen Mary's claim to the English succession, since Darnley stood in the same relation to Elizabeth as did Mary. He mentions that Moray approved of the marriage when it was first mooted, and was instrumental in bringing the Lennoxes to Scotland. But he cannot find a reasonable explanation for Moray's change of

policy: he suggests that Moray would have approved and supported the marriage if he could have obtained the consent of the English Queen, but he cannot show that Moray did anything to obtain Elizabeth's approval. Again, Buchanan cannot adequately explain the English Queen's reaction, since he asserts at first that Elizabeth was willing that the marriage should take place. In the end, Buchanan has recourse to a characteristic device: he puts the whole blame on the machinations of David Riccio. His explanation of the situation is that both Moray and Elizabeth were offended by the haste with which the Queen entered into marriage; and that this haste was caused by Mary's impetuous caprice and Riccio's intrigues.

The character of Riccio, as created by Buchanan, requires some examination. Buchanan's picture of him, as a low-born schemer who wormed his way into the graces of the Queen and became the unofficial ruler of the court, to the exclusion of the King, has been generally accepted, and is undoubtedly the portrait drawn of him in the popular imagination. In fact, however, little is known of him beyond what Buchanan says. The three contemporary sources from which most of our knowledge of the man is drawn agree only in the following points: that he came to Scotland in 1561, along with Morette, the Savoyard ambassador; that he came from Piedmont; that he was first employed by Mary as a singer; that he became one of the Queen's secretaries; that he became friendly with

Darnley; that he acted as a principal in the marriage. (1) These are facts. Apart from this meagre information, we are left with Buchanan's libel. And much of what Buchanan says of him may be discounted. In the first place, it is extremely doubtful that Riccio was as low-born as Buchanan states. A lay secretary, and a musician, was a highly educated person in the 16th century. Mary was herself moderately skilled in languages, and would have had no use for an incompetent secretary. If Riccio took Raulet's place, as Randolph says, he is bound to have been efficient enough. (2) It is interesting to note, too, that the name of Riccio occurs earlier in Italian diplomatic records. (3) It may well be that David Riccio sprang from a class of cultured Italian bourgeoisie which played so great a role in European history at this time. If this is the case - and it is certain that Riccio was cultured - it is not surprising that Mary, herself so fond of the arts and graces of the European court, so sadly lacking in Scotland, should have had a special place in her regard for the polished Italian.

From 1561 to 1564 Riccio remained a comparatively obscure person in Mary's court. (4) It was towards the end of 1564 that he became a personal secretary to the Queen. His

(1) infra, 68 ff; Melville, Memoirs, 132 ff; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 124, 153, 174, etc.

(2) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 124.

(3) C.S.P. Milan, pp. 484, 514, 520.

(4) During this time his probable total salary was £75 to £80 - less than that of a valet de chambre. (Thirds of Benefices, 101, 155, 176, 180.)

predecessor, Raulet, was suspected of being too familiar with Randolph. (1) Randolph denies this; and certainly both Knox and Kirkcaldy found Raulet incorruptible. (2) It may be that Raulet was sending secret information to France; at any rate he left under a heavy cloud. (3) It was essential that the Queen should have a trustworthy secretary; and whatever may be said of Riccio, it is certain that he was never corrupted by Mary's enemies. This might well be one reason for his unpopularity with the reformers. Furthermore, he was a Roman Catholic, and was even suspected of being an emissary of the Pope. (4) His cultivation of Darnley - no doubt with his eye on his career - and his suspected associations with the European Catholic juncto, rendered him doubly dangerous to Moray and his party. After the Chaseabout Raid, he was even more dangerous, for he was believed to be working hard to prevent any softening of the Queen's attitude towards the exiles. (5) Further, he appears to have ousted Maitland in the jostling for position in the Queen's favour. (6) All this made him a likely victim for the wrath of disappointed reformers after the

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 124. (2) ibid, no. 72.

(3) ibid, no. 135. (4) Melville, Memoirs, 136.

(5) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 369 (6) ibid, no. 310.

marriage. All this, no doubt, contributed to his downfall. But Buchanan's explanation is different. (1)

According to Buchanan, Riccio crept into favour by means of flattery and trickery. In order to advance himself, he played on Darnley's too-trusting nature and the Queen's folly until he had made himself indispensable, and then he used his position to oust all others, even the King, from the Queen's goodwill. To his inordinate ambition and the Queen's hatred for Moray Buchanan attributes all the troubles that followed. Riccio's familiarity with Darnley was a deliberate effort on the villain's part to find protection from Moray, whom he hated because he would not bow down to him as others did. Moray retired from court because the Queen returned hatred for good advice; and Mary deliberately built up around her a party of Moray's enemies - Bothwell, the earl of Sutherland and the earl of Huntly. Thus the pattern emerges of a planned assault on Moray, contrived by the Queen and Riccio and unconsciously aided by the noble but over-trusting young suitor. The 'facts' used by Buchanan are mainly true, but so removed from their context that the resultant mosaic is quite false. Though Riccio certainly played a leading role in the marriage, there is no

(1) infra, 70 ff.

(2) ibid. no. 123.

(3) ibid. 72, n.2.

(4) ibid. 72, n.2, 3.

reason to believe that Buchanan's account of his motives is true. Moray seems certainly to have left court in April, 1565 - in disfavour, says Randolph, because he had criticised the 'ungodly ceremonies' of the papists (1) - but he was back again at court when Throckmorton arrived in May. (2) Mary certainly recalled Bothwell, but not until July. He had returned of his own accord in the spring, but without leave, and the Queen had actually ordered his arrest. (3) Neither Huntly nor Sutherland appeared in court until some time after the marriage. (4) Thus Buchanan's account of the events leading up to the Chaseabout Raid amounts to a conscious perversion of the sequence of events, designed to disguise the real situation, which owed its being to the religious and political issues involved in a marriage which seemed likely to endanger the interests both of the Kirk and the English government. As we have seen, Moray's behaviour is best explained by his attachment to the Kirk and to England - his reaction against the marriage was motivated by political and personal considerations. Buchanan's emphasis on Riccio is clearly a red herring, aimed at explaining away a situation which the historian found unsuitable to his twin prejudices concerning Moray and the Lennoxes.

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 163.

(2) ibid, no. 183.

(3) infra, 72, n.2.

(4) infra, 72, n.2, 3.

Buchanan consistently reduces political issues to the plane of personal motives. All troubles are ascribed to the malevolence of the Queen, the malicious envy and greed of her wicked fellow-conspirators, a body whose composition alters from time to time. Again and again we are presented with a conspiracy against the hero, Moray; the conspirators vary, but the Queen is a constant figure, the focal point of a concentration of evil directed against Moray, and through him all that was best in Scotland. The Guises, the Hamiltons, Bothwell, the Gordons - all have had their several entrances, to take their places around the Queen, ready to strike, at her command, at the hero and his friends. To this body of villains is now added the sinister character of David Riccio. He becomes, for a space, the chief butt of Buchanan's attack. He emerges as a positive personality, described with care and imaginative clarity. The character is well-drawn for villainy: low-born, foreign, ambitious, subtle, vainglorious; a papist, a spy, a sycophant, a voluptuary and an intimate of the Queen. His ruthlessness is unbounded, his machinations manifold, his scheming mind so tortuous that his plans are hidden from all save his creator. For Buchanan has created this Riccio. As a historical figure the genuine Riccio is a cipher, a vague adumbration barely emerging from obscurity. As we have seen, what is indisputably known of him is very sparse. Most of what Buchanan avers is unsupported; yet he describes his character, motives, and thoughts in the manner of the novelist, delineating such unknowable aspects of

of personality as can only be imaginatively conceived.

To this 'Machiavel' Buchanan attributes all that cannot be attributed to the Queen's wickedness, and all the events which he found to be at variance with his preconceptions. One of these was the 'Raid of Baith.' On 1 July, 1565, Mary and Darnley were returning from Perth to Callendar, in an atmosphere of nervous tension. Open conflict over the projected marriage was now expected. Argyll made no secret of his resentment. (1) The preachers were outspoken in their condemnation of the match and ready to defend their cause by arms. (2) On the journey, the Queen and Darnley suddenly took alarm, and fled, believing that Moray and Argyll lay in ambush to seize them. (3) Whether or not the alarm was justified, it evinced the dangers of the situation. Buchanan could not ignore the alleged plot - Leslie, Melville, Pitscottie and Mary herself have all taken notice of it - but he dismisses it as an idle rumour, as it may have been. He turns it to his own advantage, however, by suggesting that the Queen's alarm was designed to cover up a plot conceived by her and Riccio, to foster a quarrel between Darnley and Moray.

Buchanan's difficulty in reconciling his two attachments - to Moray and to the Lennoxes - leads him into sweeping

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 176, 180.

(2) Knox, II, 150-51.

(3) infra, 74, n.2.

allegations, which involve contradictions. He maintains that Elizabeth supported the marriage, yet he is almost immediately compelled to mention Throckmorton's mission of protest. He insists that Moray was not against the marriage, though he mentions that Moray absented himself from the body-convention at Stirling. He cannot but admit that Lennox and Darnley 'persisted in their purpose,' despite Throckmorton's objections, yet he hastens to ascribe the precipitation of the marriage to Mary and Riccio. Characteristically, he takes refuge in a multiplicity of accusations. 'They' - the pronoun seems to comprise the Queen and Riccio, but not Lennox and Darnley - are stated to have hastened the ceremony because it brought Mary nearer to the English throne; because it was not approved by the Guises, who favoured another (unspecified) match; because it advanced Riccio's career; and because it would further the interests of the Catholic Church. Over all these allegations - some of which, it should be noted, are shrewdly near the truth - hangs the pervasive, insistent implication that Mary was working determinedly towards the establishment of 'tyranny.'

That the Queen attempted to establish despotic authority in defiance of the ancient laws and privileges of the people is an argument which recurs throughout Buchanan's account of Mary's personal reign; far more stress is laid on this theme than on religious problems. Resistance to tyranny was, of course, a traditional justification of rebellion, and Buchanan

uses it to explain various incidents which do not otherwise suit his general design. The 'fray' of December, 1561, when Arran was believed to have prepared to seize the Queen, was, according to Buchanan, a mere rumour put out by Mary and her half-brother John as an excuse for the formation of a body-guard. (1) Buchanan borrowed this idea from Knox, but what is a mere reflection on Knox's part becomes, with Buchanan, an elaborate plot designed to realise the Queen's dreams of despotism. Moray, in Buchanan's eyes, was the greatest single obstacle; with him removed, the Queen's plans might have succeeded - hence the many plots to have him removed. The theme recurs again in his account of the Darnley marriage. The hasty ceremony and the proclamation of Henry and Mary as sovereigns, without the consent of parliament, were prime examples, Buchanan asserts, of the Queen's desire for autocratic power. Those nobles who did not attend the ceremony, he alleges, were at once outlawed and attacked with force. (2) The initiative, as always, is made to come from the Queen. Buchanan makes no reference to the militant attitude of the reformers before and after the marriage, their close association with the English, their meetings, preparations, and final defiance.

(1) infra, 32 ff.

(2) infra, 80. Moray was a bitter blow to the party and to their personal fortunes. For months they lingered in the north of England, entreating Cecil to help them, becoming

Buchanan's account of the Chaseabout Raid is given exclusively from Moray's point of view. The insurgent lords are treated as hapless victims of the Queen's malice. Her determination for vengeance is emphasised, and contrasted with the noble disinterestedness of Moray. In one ingenious stroke Buchanan takes an opportunity to cast aspersions on the Hamiltons, and at the same time to explain away the quick discomfiture of Moray's party. The Hamiltons, he says, ^{intained} urged the Queen's death, and when their 'cruelty and greed' were met with shocked refusal, most of them defected, leaving Moray with hopelessly weak support. Buchanan has nothing to say of Moray's sojourn in England. The reformers had ^{been} undertaken the enterprise in the belief that they would receive aid from England, and this hope had been fostered by Randolph, who worked hard to obtain money and reinforcements for the rebels. There are grounds for believing that Cecil was willing to intervene actively in the Scots dispute; but Elizabeth hated rebellion, even when it stemmed from her own policies. She was loth to acknowledge Moray's cause, and when he visited her court, in the sanguine expectation of ^{receiving} receiving congratulation, encouragement and financial subsidy, he was unexpectedly rebuffed. The humiliation went deep: two years later, Mortom reminded Throckmorton of their disillusionment at the hands of Elizabeth. Her repudiation of Moray was a bitter blow to his party and to their personal fortunes. For months they lingered in the north of England, entreating Cecil to help them, becoming

desperately straitened for money, looking forward with chagrin to the forfeiture of their estates by Mary's parliament of March, 1566. The murder of Riccio turned the tide for them, and saved them from utter ruin.

All this must surely have been known to Buchanan, for it was notoriously remembered in Scotland, and was often recalled in the debates of 1567, concerning Elizabeth's demands for the release of Mary from Lochleven. But Buchanan maintains a profound silence about these events. Yet he is careful to mention that Elizabeth wrote Mary to intercede for the rebels.(1) He implies that Elizabeth was wholeheartedly in sympathy with Moray's party. The truth is very different. In October, 1565, Elizabeth wrote the Queen of Scots to intimate that she would send an embassy, apparently to offer substantial concessions in exchange for Mary's recognition of the Treaty of Edinburgh, and the restitution of the rebels. But by the end of November Elizabeth had changed her mind. No embassy was sent. Randolph was instructed not only to inform Mary that there would be no ambassador, but that Elizabeth never intended any such thing, and that he, Randolph was responsible for the misunderstanding. (2) Buchanan mentions a letter from Elizabeth to Mary in the spring of

(1) infra, 93.

(2) Sal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 288, 289, 290, 308.

1566, in which the English Queen 'wisely and amiably discussed the present state of affairs in Scotland, and in gentle, even loving terms, tried to sway her cousin's mind from wrath to moderation' concerning the rebel lords. (1) If such a letter were ever sent, it has been lost. On the other hand, we know that Elizabeth wrote a long letter on this very subject on 24 February, 1566, but that it was never sent. (2) By this time, of course, the English government was aware that there was a plot afoot to restore the rebels by force.

In Buchanan's argument England plays the part of a kindly outsider, an umpire whose principles force him to acknowledge the supreme virtue of Moray and all his actions, and condemn the vices of Mary. At no time does he betray knowledge of the constant, close associations between the protestant lords and the English government. In his account of the Riccio affair, the reader's attention is focussed on the machinations of Riccio and the Queen. The story is straightforward, and it is told with skilful verisimilitude. As soon as the defeat of Moray leaves them free, the Queen and Riccio proceed to 'lay the foundations of tyranny.' They build up a large bodyguard of foreign mercenaries. They begin to oust Darnley from the business of government

(1) infra, 94.

(2) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 345 and note.

and even to try to expose him to starvation. (1) Meanwhile David Riccio becomes Mary's lover - 'The Queen... began, in another way to ornament him with domestic favours.' (2) Darnley finds out, and is justly furious. He seeks ways and means to rid the country of this 'needy rascal,' this 'base-born villain, ... without principle or distinction,' whom the Queen is trying to elevate 'to the rank of a lord of parliament.' (3) He consults with his father, and they decide that 'the only way out of the present evils would be to reconcile themselves with those nobles still at home, and to recall if possible those who were absent.' Accordingly the King calls in Morton, Lindsay and Ruthven, and asks their help. They do not trust him, for he has been weak enough to allow the ascendancy of Riccio. He confesses his fault, and they draw up a bargain, providing for the protection of the reformed religion, the recall of the exiles, and the death of David. The King signs an acknowledgement that he is the instigator of the plot; for the lords know that Mary could wheedle secrets from him. So the plot proceeds, and is triumphantly successful. But when Moray returns, his affection, his loyalty and clemency induce him to slacken the guard placed on the Queen. She escapes, carrying Darnley with her at the point of a pistol. In order to avenge herself on the executioners of Riccio, she pretends to be

(1) infra, 88.

(2) infra, 89.

(3) infra, 90.

reconciled to the returned exiles. This stratagem succeeds, and she pursues vengeance with terrible persecution. Meanwhile she blatantly exposes her illicit relations with Riccio by burying him in a royal tomb. (1)

Not much of this account is demonstrably invented by Buchanan. The tale of the bodyguard is probably spurious, but most of the other incidents seem certainly to have been spoken of at the time. The story of Darnley's finding Mary alone with Riccio in her locked bed-chamber was retailed by the French ambassador, Paul de Foix. The story of the attempt to give Riccio the Melville estate was told at the time to Randolph, who was in Berwick. The description of Riccio's royal re-burial was reported by de Foix. (2) The account of the murder is based on Ruthven's Relation, which Buchanan doubtless read. But the general timbre of the story rings false. Too many facts have been left out, too many details added, to render it trustworthy. Buchanan's picture of Darnley is patently over-coloured. As his actions prove, he was far from being the inoffensive young man that Buchanan describes. He was not left out of state affairs, if the acts of the Privy Council are reliable; though he seems to have spent too much of his time on pleasure.

(1) infra, 103.

(2) infra, 103, n.2.

The tale of his expulsion to Peebles in the depth of winter is unlikely and most probably false. Above all, his motives for the murder of Riccio were demonstrably different from those given by Buchanan. Darnley's chief aim was, beyond doubt, the Crown Matrimonial. Buchanan never breathes a syllable about this, though he was clearly acquainted with the terms of the Articles, as detailed, probably, by Ruthven.⁽¹⁾ Ruthven's account is that of a dying man, and though it is designed to vindicate the actions of the conspirators, it is perhaps the most trustworthy of the various narratives of the affair. Here we see a Darnley who differs fundamentally from the guileless young victim depicted by Buchanan. According to Ruthven, Darnley's chief ^{motivation?} motivation was jealousy and the desire for power. Ruthven makes no secret of the rationale of the conspiracy: his story reveals a deeply-laid plot aimed at the overthrow of the court party, the assumption of power by a rebel caucus nominally led by Darnley. He is explicit in his admissions: the lords distrusted Darnley, but they were willing to strike a bargain with him, provided they were protected by clearly-defined terms of agreement which could not be impugned. The return of the exiles and the preservation of the Kirk were offered by Darnley in exchange for the Matrimonial crown. Darnley

(1) infra, 96.

signed the agreement along with an acknowledgement that he was the instigator of the plot: this was insisted upon, so strongly that there must have been reason to distrust the character of the King. (Another inescapable inference is that the true originaof the conspiracy - Maitland, acting for the exiles - was thus concealed.) Darnley was willing to sign away anything - his integrity, his wife's peace of mind, even, perhaps, her life - to gain the power he craved. He was weak enough to sign away his own hopes, for the damning document in the hands of his fellow-conspirators would have made a mockery of his new-gained authority. All this reveals a ruthless folly, a vicious egoism in the young man which is entirely lacking in Buchanan's picture. But the true story goes even deeper. Ruthven maintains that it was Darnley - and he alone - who insisted that Riccio must be killed in the Queen's presence. The inference is obvious. Mary was with child - a child that must, when born, destroy Darnley's hope of the Crown Matrimonial. If Riccio were 'executed' in Mary's presence, the 'perils of abortion' were great; the Queen's life would be in danger. We shall never know whether this was intended, or not. But we do know that Ruthven hinted as much; that Mary firmly believed this to have been planned; that many people of the time were convinced that this was the chief object of the plot. (1) That such a malicious, irresponsible piece of villainy was even suspected of Darnley demonstrates beyond cavil that his known character was very different from that given him by Buchanan.

(1) Ruthven's Relation; Keith, II, 414.

Buchanan's second object - denigration of the Queen - leads him to a rational if false explanation of the plot. Given his premises, that Riccio was the Queen's lover, that Riccio was the chief obstacle to the return of the exiled lords, that Riccio supported the Queen in her drive towards tyranny, that it was due to Riccio's illicit domination of the Queen that Darnley was excluded from affairs of state, then the plot was at once necessary and justified. The removal of Riccio did indeed 'chop at the root,' as Maitland put it, of all the troubles. (1) Buchanan's premises, however, do not stand up to examination. That Riccio was Mary's lover was a prevalent rumour among the Queen's opponents, but nothing could be more improbable, in the light of fact. (2) The fate of the exiled lords depended upon wider issues than the whim of the Queen's secretary, as the evidence proves. Riccio's position at court was much less remarkable than was alleged by Mary's

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 336.

(2) The chief source of evidence on this point is Randolph's letters. Hay Fleming believed that Randolph's hint in his letter of October, 1565 - 'the hatred conceived against my lord of Moray is ... that she (Mary) knoweth that he understandeth some such secret part (not to be named for reverence sake) that standeth not for her honour ...' refers to an affaire between the Queen and Riccio. (Hay Fleming, 380, n.35) But in the same letter Randolph lists the reasons for discord between Mary and Darnley, and marital infidelity is not one of them. (infra, 89, n.2)

On 12 December the exiles were summoned to appear in the

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 310. See also Moray's own letters, ibid, nos. 292, 307, 320, etc. There can be no doubt that Moray was ready for any way out of his difficulties.

enemies. Darnley's exclusion from affairs of state cannot be proved, though it is true that his frequent absences from court, and the persistent refusal of the English Queen to recognise him, necessitated the devices which were used to allow documents to be signed without his presence. There is no evidence that Mary wished or tried to establish an autocratic government. She ruled at all times through her Privy Council: with no more, if little less, personal authority than her predecessors. The murder of Riccio was, in reality, a very different affair from that described by Buchanan; and it demonstrates, perhaps more than any other incident, Buchanan's conscious perversion of the truth.

The murder of Riccio was a convenient pretext to enter upon a decisive coup d'état, the chief purposes of which were the reinstatement of Moray and his party on the one hand, and the achievement of the Crown Matrimonial by Darnley on the other. The plight of the exiled lords furnishes the strongest of all motives. Moray was in desperate straits. Randolph wrote that he had not '200 crowns in the world,' and that 'necessity forces him to somewhat, how full of peril soever it be.' (1) Elizabeth had **peremptorily** rejected his confident request for help; nothing remained for him but to take some bold step to recover his power in Scotland. Time was against him - Mary had proved implacable. On 18 December the exiles were summoned to compear in the

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 319. See also Moray's own letters, ibid, nos. 292, 307, 320, etc. There can be no doubt that Moray was ready for any way out of his difficulties.

parliament on 12 March, 1566, to hear themselves forfeited of all their worldly goods. The exiles dreaded this parliament. (1) By it they were likely to lose everything. Furthermore, the reformed Church was likely to lose, for Mary planned to do 'some good anent restoring the auld religion' in the same parliament. (2) There can be no doubt that the murder of Riccio was closely connected with the desperation of the exiled protestant lords, and the suspicions of the reformers at home; and the close timing of the murder a few days before the appointed day of law confirms this.

For the actual commission of the murder, the chief sources of evidence are the Diurnal, Ruthven's Relation, Mary's letter to Beaton, 2 April, 1566, and the papers drawn up by Bedford and Randolph for the English Privy Council. These agree with one another in essentials, with some variations which will be discussed. The chief details are too well known to require rehearsal: the quiet entry of the large force of conspirators into the palace; the furtive climb up the private stairway to the Queen's small cabinet; the dramatic scene in the supper-chamber, Mary alarmed and defiant, Ruthven grim and haggard, the cringing Italian and the hapless Darnley, the scuffle in the light of a trembling candle. Ruthven tells it with quiet but

(1) See Moray's letters, ibid, nos. 321, 322, 323.

(2) Keith, II, 412.

vivid verisimilitude. But there are minor shadows, details of potential significance which reveal a planned and deliberate policy. It is here that the variations in the narratives become important.

The main difference, one that has been used against Mary, is that she insists that the murderers stabbed Riccio in her presence, which Ruthven explicitly denies. Mary says that they 'put violent hands on him (Riccio), struck him over our shoulders with whiniards, one part of them standing before our face with bended daggs, most cruelly took him forth of our cabinet, and at the entry of our chamber give him fifty-six strokes with whiniards and swords.' (1) This description is not really inconsistent with the others, if certain considerations be borne in mind. In the first place, Ruthven admits that the conspirators were heavily armed. (2) Presumably they entered the chamber with weapons in hand. They dragged Riccio from behind the Queen, their daggers still in their hands. To the hysterical young Queen, the action would appear precisely as she remembered and described it. Again, Mary says that the murderers killed Riccio at the entry of her chamber. Ruthven insists that they dragged the man out of Mary's inner cabinet, across the bedchamber to the 'outer chamber,' and killed him at the farther door. It is true that Mary does not mention the bedchamber, but it

(1) Keith, II, 414.

(2) Buchanan's description of the murder, infra, 95 ff. may be taken as a rhetorical exposition of Ruthven's account.

cannot be said that her account is strictly inaccurate. By her 'chamber' she evidently means the 'outer' chamber of presence. If she had meant, as some historians believe she did, that Riccio was killed at the door of her cabinet, she would not have used the words, 'entry of our chamber.' She would have said, 'cruelly took him forth of our cabinet, and at the entry thereof...' Furthermore, Mary does not state explicitly that the murder was completed in her presence. She believed that they had stabbed him while dragging him away - as they may well have done - and that was sufficiently heinous to justify her accusation. It is unjust to impute deception to the Queen on these grounds. (1)

Mary herself was convinced that mischief was intended against herself: to her this conclusion was natural and inescapable. But it is doubtful whether anyone other than Darnley wanted such an outcome. The lords aimed at a court revolution: the proceedings of the conspirators after the murder makes this clear. Two proclamations were issued in the King's name. One charged certain men who supported the lords' cause to patrol the streets of Edinburgh, and 'to suffer none other to be seen out of their houses, except protestants, under all highest pain and charge that after may follow.' (2) The second was an announcement that it was not the King's will that Parliament should hold, and

(1) Hay Fleming (Mary, Queen of Scots, 388) is among those who believe that Mary's description is disingenuous.

(2) Ruthven, Relation.

commanding all those specially summoned to sit to leave the town within three hours, except those whom the King specially wished to remain. (1) This is the familiar pattern of the coup d'état - the rush to establish martial law until the transfer of power could take effect; and the swift accomplishment of the revolution's immediate aim.

The parts played by Moray and his exiled friends have caused some controversy, without cause. That Moray and the others knew of the assassination well in advance of it is certain and proved. There is also little doubt that they had deliberately designed to arrive in Edinburgh after the event, thus establishing their innocence. This was probably a major part of the general scheme. The arrival of the powerful combination of Moray and Argyll was designed to strengthen the hands of the conspirators, at the very time when it behoved them to justify their actions. Moray was to arrive as summoned, be fully pardoned, and join with Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay and the others in their homage to Darnley as the new centre of monarchic authority. Such a combination would be almost overwhelming in its power, and the protestant faith would be strongly established. The major part of the nobility of the realm would thereafter be ranged against the Queen, headed by the figurehead of a nominally legal King. The later reconciliation between Moray

(1) ibid.

and his step-sister was an expediency on his part as well as hers. The coup d'état had failed. Morton and Ruthven were irretrievably damned; the only thing that could be done was to conciliate the Queen, who had so triumphantly re-established her authority.

How this counterstroke was effected is easily explained, and its success is significant. The early escape of Bothwell and Huntly was an important advantage to the Queen, for both were powerful barons who could muster between them sufficient men-at-arms to upset the conspirators' plans by force. But this would take time - weeks, perhaps months. The Queen, by her superb acting, effected their ruin in so many days. First, she succeeded in terrifying Darnley into becoming a pliable cipher, and by alternately flattering and upbraiding him rendering him useless to the conspirators. For without him and his nominal authority they could offer no legitimate front to the people at large - and that the citizens were generally disturbed is clearly evident both from the strictness of the rebels' proclamations and the remarkable promptness with which Mary's subsequent call to arms was obeyed. Without Darnley the conspirators were mere rebels. With him, they could claim to represent the King. When Darnley found to his astonishment that the Queen accepted his nervous explanations and seemed disposed even to treat him with respect, walking with him and Moray for an hour, and inviting him to share her bed, and promising to sign a band of security for the lives and estates of the conspirators, he must have felt that all was well.

But secretly, in the privacy of the royal chamber, Mary worked on him anew. Perhaps she cajoled him, perhaps she terrorised him. At any rate she was a much stronger personality than he. Her natural dignity and her regal authority gave her a strength she could use against a weakling like Darnley, though she proved lamentably weak against men of positive will like Moray and Bothwell. Buchanan claims that Mary threatened to kill Darnley if he did not accompany her. This could well be true: but it throws an even more lurid light on the character of the King than on that of the Queen. The important thing is that by one means or another Mary succeeded in detaching Darnley from the rebels. It may be that he prevaricated when he told them that she would sign the band in the morning. Perhaps he was already aware that she had no intention of doing so. Perhaps it was only in the night that Mary allowed him to know her secret resolution.

There can be little doubt that the Queen realised by and depended on the fact that Moray could easily be turned against the murderers of Riccio. Once she had escaped, the Queen was out of danger: no one could summon the courage, besides the resources, to challenge her authority. Furthermore, the chief purpose of the assassination, as regards Moray at any rate, had been to stay the parliament, and this had been done. The best way to consolidate what had been gained was to regain the favour of the Queen; and when Mary proved herself willing to have a reconciliation

Moray was the first to recognise this as a desirable event. Without honourable status in the country he could amount to nothing, and the reformed faith could gain nothing from prolonged and useless strife with the sovereign, especially as all the real evidence available suggests that the great majority of the nation were solid in their loyalty to the Queen.

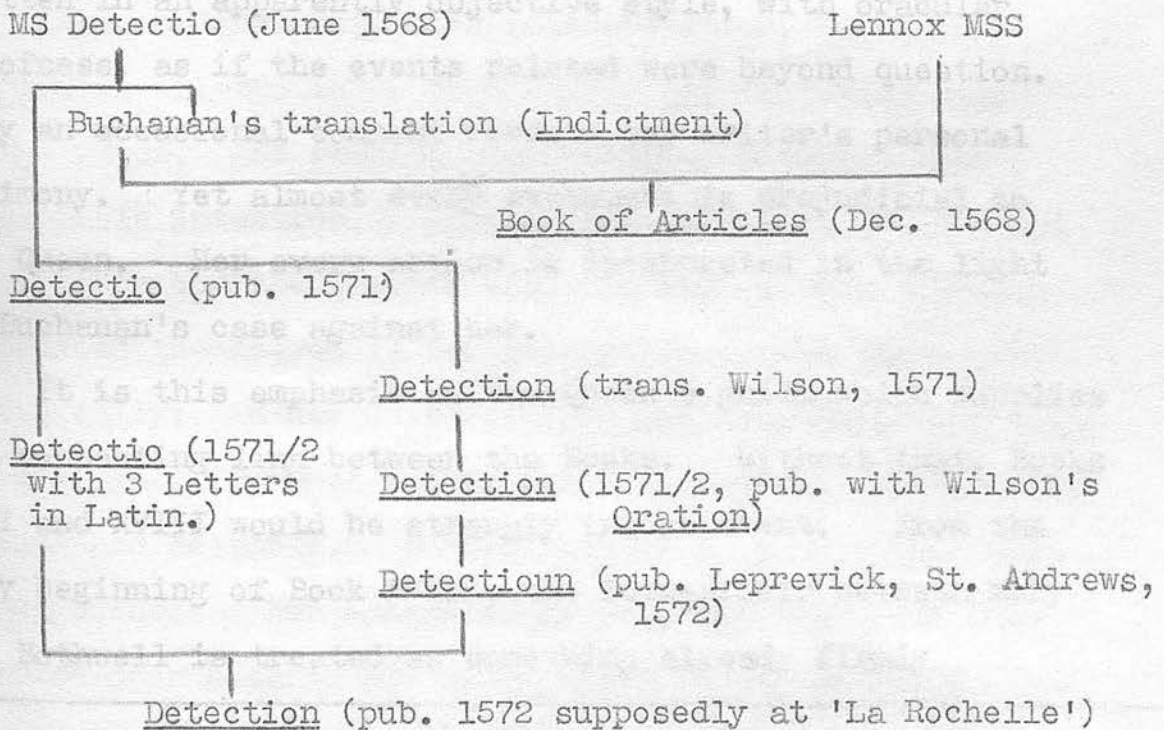
..... It is more than a recapitulation

After the removal of Riccio, Buchanan's narrative swings rapidly on towards its climax, the murder of Darnley. These two incidents may be regarded as the twin peaks in his survey of the events of his time. Together they occupy by far the greatest space in his narrative, and - because they contain the most damning elements of the case against the Queen - Buchanan plainly considered them the most important events of Mary's reign. Book XVII of the History may be regarded as laying the foundations of the case against Mary: here her character, outlook and policies are depicted and confirmed by illustrative incidents. The protagonists of the coming struggle are introduced: the valiant and righteous protestant lords led by Moray, the hero; and the ruthless, perfidious enemies of freedom, consisting of everyone opposed to Moray, led by the arch-villainess, Mary. The Riccio affair is the climax of the Book. It sets the scene for the enactment of the grand climax of Book XVIII. Immediately he has disposed of Riccio, Buchanan hastens to build up his account of Darnley's death.

Book XVIII is devoted exclusively to the relation of the

murder of Darnley and its consequences. Buchanan has based this narrative on earlier libels, the Detectio, the Book of Articles, and the Lennox MSS. (1) It is not true to say that this Book is merely an expansion of the Detectio. It incorporates details not contained in the Latin summary known as the Detectio, details derived from the Book of Articles, and the Lennox MSS, and also details not derivable from any of these sources. It is more than a recapitulation of the case against the Queen: it is a new statement in which Buchanan has tried to embrace almost everything that could reasonably be used to prove the Queen's guilt.

- (1) The probable relationship between the various libels is best seen by the following diagram:



(Adapted from Mahon, Indictment, 28)

Accordingly the account in the History occasionally contradicts the Detectio, and even tends to contradict itself. (1) But these inconsistencies are slight. The general run of the argument is smooth and convincing.

It is evidently designed to supercede the earlier libels as an account of the affair. As History, it must merit a greater degree of credibility than the polemics on which it is based. Consequently Buchanan maintains a colder, less vindictive tone in his later narrative. He discards some of his earlier allegations, and drops the argumentative rhetoric which reveals the writer's consciousness of possible refutation. The History is written in an apparently objective style, with oracular aloofness, as if the events related were beyond question. Only an occasional comment reveals the writer's personal acrimony. Yet almost every statement is prejudicial to the Queen. Her every action is interpreted in the light of Buchanan's case against her.

It is this emphasis on the Queen's guilt which supplies the connecting link between the Books. Without that, Books XVII and XVIII would be strangely inconsistent. From the very beginning of Book XVIII, the love-affair between Mary and Bothwell is treated as something already firmly

(1) As, for example, in his accusation of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, after he has laid the whole plot at the door of the Queen and Bothwell. (infra, 126 ff)

established; yet there has been no hint of such a thing in the preceding Book. Mary's guilty character, however, bridges that gap. We are asked to believe that, as soon as her lover Riccio leaves the scene, the Queen transfers her vicious heart to Bothwell. The initiative is Mary's. As she selected Riccio for advancement, so now she selects Bothwell; and she is so carried away by her illicit passion for him that she will allow nothing to stand in its way. Buchanan's estimate of Bothwell is as harsh as that of most of the Queen's enemies: but unlike other contemporaries he makes more of the Queen's guilt than of Bothwell's. To Buchanan, Bothwell was a logical successor to Riccio as servitor to the Queen's villainy.

In accordance with this interpretation, Buchanan attributes all the major troubles of the following year to the Queen. He changes his emphasis, however, with perceptible intention. In the preceding Book, he had set out to show how the Queen's ambition and vicious training manifested themselves in her attempt to govern the Scots tyrannically; in her chicanery and ruthless treachery; in her disregard for what Buchanan calls the 'ancient laws' of freedom and assembly. Subordinate to this, her personal voluptuousness - her excessive self-indulgence - had been remarked upon both in his description of her on her arrival and in his account of her affair with Riccio. Now, however, this aspect of her character, as conceived by Buchanan, assumes primary importance. Her almost every action is

ascribed to a loose emotional irresponsibility which flows from an overwhelming, selfish and unthinking infatuation.

Mary's criminal passion for Bothwell was, of course, the chief plank in her enemies' case against her - more important, even, in terms of contemporary morality, than her alleged complicity in the murder of her husband. The part she played in the murder of Darnley was never clearly explained; the Casket Letters do no more than hint that she was privy to the plot. Her opponents contented themselves with pointing to her infatuation for Bothwell, whom they and practically everyone believed to be the chief murderer. They could prove her infatuation to the satisfaction of those who mattered, the English Queen, the Scottish people, the French, and even the Pope. They saw, more clearly even than most modern historians could hope to understand, that Mary's love for Bothwell condemned her in the judgment of ordinary people with far more devastating certainty than could any nebulous evidence of her participation in the murder. Sexual morality was a strong element in the new reformed religions. It has always been of supreme significance in the outlook of ordinary people. Anyone who flouted the moral sanctions as far as Mary was believed to have done could only meet with hostility. It was logical and inevitable that the Queen's opponents should seize upon this aspect of the situation and exploit it to the full. Buchanan's Detectio did much to spread abroad the prevalent view of Mary as an abandoned woman. His

History reiterates the picture: and it is an ugly one.

To a scholar of Buchanan's habits and temperament, with convincing verisimilitude, a case based on sexual passion could hardly be an attractive subject of attention. But the loathing expressed by Buchanan might well have been the result of conscious design rather than a personal revulsion. For he aims at demonstrating Mary's unfitness to rule - her unfitness, even, to live as a free woman. Basically, in his argument, her unfitness was not political only, but also personal. In her reckless pursuit of Bothwell, she behaved 'as if she had forgotten not only the majesty of a Queen but even the modesty of a married woman.' (1) The theme recurs insistently - her shameful neglect of her husband; her immodest display of partiality for her lover; her blatant flaunting of unworthy passion. The Queen is shown to have sinned, not only against the laws of the country and the code of princely behaviour, but above all against the common laws of conventional morality. Such an emphasis necessitates a deeply personal impugnement of the Queen's character.

In Book XVIII, Buchanan's picture of the Queen is garishly over-drawn. Here the subtlety of his earlier description gives place to savage caricature. His reliance upon earlier libels, written in the heat and stress of political controversy, no doubt influenced his later account; but there is a much more potent explanation. In the History,

(1) infra, 105-6.

much more than in the Detectio, Buchanan is compelled to state, with convincing verisimilitude, a case based on slender and by no means unquestionable evidence. Whatever may be said of the genuineness or falseness of the evidence of the Queen's guilt presented by Mary's enemies, it is certain that the so-called 'proof' was not sufficiently irrefutable to be published without hesitation or qualification. In 1568, Moray produced his evidence with a significant reluctance - and only produced it, it should be noted, when it could be accompanied by such bitter denunciations as the Detectio and the Book of Articles. Ten years later Buchanan found himself confronted with such a plethora of conflicting evidence as to make it impossible to reconcile the various allegations concerning the murder of Darnley. Most of this evidence is concerned to prove Bothwell's guilt. The Queen's rôle is only vaguely defined and derives mainly from implication. It was impossible then, as it is now, to manipulate all the testimonies into a logical pattern which could be regarded as a reasonable approximation of what happened. Buchanan strikes through the mass of contradictions with a simple proposition: the Queen was an evil woman, and evil gathered around her to maintain and execute her evil designs. As a clever propagandist, Buchanan realised that the most successful form of attack was sustained and uninhibited personal denigration. The more dirt he threw, the more would stick.

This is not to say that Buchanan invented all the

slandrous statements he makes about the Queen. There was no need for him to do so. From the beginning of her personal reign, a whispering campaign surrounded Mary's behaviour, mounting to a crescendo of execration among the common people at the time of Darnley's murder. The reforming ministers were openly critical of the Queen's personal activities. The ballad-mongers spread tales of the corrupt life of the court. The scandalous rumours which reached the foreign ambassadors were undoubtedly the fruit of assiduous cultivation by political enemies. Buchanan had ample hearsay material from which to build his elaborate libels. Furthermore, it cannot be stated categorically that these rumours were entirely spurious. The old saying that there is no smoke without fire may well apply to Mary's situation. There can be no doubt that many of her actions, especially after the birth of James, did lend themselves to unfavourable interpretation. She was certainly estranged from her husband, and could not have forgotten his part in the murder of Riccio. Unquestionably she advanced Bothwell with gifts and position, and displayed some partiality for him when he was wounded. Without doubt she excluded Darnley from the ceremonies and festivities connected with the prince's baptism. Her refusal to take part against Bothwell after the murder, her sanction of his arbitrary treatment of her at Dunbar, her connivance at his divorce, her marriage to the man widely believed to be the murderer of her late husband - these are actions which make it hard to defend her integrity.

The circumstances are such that those Mariolators who refuse to recognise any fault in Mary are forced to a defensive position which can only be held by recourse to vague argumenta ad invidiam.

Circumstantial evidence against the Queen is strong, and its existence strengthened Buchanan's hand. But it was no part of his design to rely upon the implications of circumstance. His task was to build up an unanswerable indictment of the Queen that would endure for all time. In attempting this - in rejecting a reasoned statement of the circumstantial evidence in favour of a sweeping prejudicial account of the events which attributed everything directly to the Queen's malicious purposes - he led himself to record a farrago of allegations which cannot stand up to investigation. This may be said of all the contemporary enemies of Mary. Their anxiety to enlarge their case against the Queen induced them to endorse a number of suspicious testimonies which in themselves throw doubt upon the whole case. It may be said, especially with regard to Buchanan's libels, that the potential strength of their basic allegations is weakened and almost invalidated by the demonstrable falseness of many subsidiary charges. Buchanan himself may have been aware of this possibility. At any rate he is careful to avoid making bold and arbitrary statements. Most of his allegations are insinuated. Most of them have the dubious authority of earlier libels. Added to these, his prejudicial comments are obscure, and difficult to refute.

His general technique of expounding the thoughts and motives of his characters, in the manner of the novelist, remains unchanged. But whereas Book XVII deals largely with events which are, comparatively, neglected by contemporary authorities, Book XVIII is concerned with events which, even in his own time, were subjected to an immense amount of debate and scrutiny. The result is that Buchanan's narrative here contains a greater number of inaccuracies, unfounded comments and deliberate perversions.

From the beginning, Buchanan is concerned to show that Bothwell succeeded Riccio as the Queen's right-hand man, dominating her through her passion for him, and enjoying the chief power in the kingdom. He makes much of the estrangement between Mary and her husband; saying that despite the young man's anxiety to play his proper part as husband and king, he was contemptuously rejected in favour of Bothwell. That this is an oversimplified and exaggerated account of the situation is clear from the evidence of the State Papers. The English ambassador, Killigrew, reported in June, 1566, that Darnley was not in favour, and that Bothwell's credit at court was 'more than all the rest together.' Yet Killigrew reports at the same time that Moray and Argyll were much in favour at court, that they were in charge of affairs at Edinburgh castle during the Queen's confinement, whereas Bothwell was refused permission to be there. (1) Buchanan knew of the

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 400, 402.

reconciliation between Moray and the Queen after the murder of Riccio. He must have known that for the rest of the year Moray was on friendly terms with Mary, and spent a great deal of time in her company. Yet he hardly mentions Moray or any other of the Queen's Council: implying that Mary and Bothwell alone managed the business of state. Again, he must have known that Darnley's unpopularity was due to his behaviour in the Riccio affair, and that the Queen's distaste was shared, and probably encouraged, by Moray and other friends of the lords betrayed by Darnley. Yet he writes of the situation as if Darnley were an injured and innocent party, eager for reconciliation, anxious to do his duty, but rebuffed at every turn by his wicked and unfaithful wife. (1) The truth is that during the months following the prince's birth in June, Mary was surrounded by nobles eager to earn her favour, and vying with one another to gain the Queen's support. Moray and Argyll were anxious to secure pardon for Maitland, whose part in the Riccio affair necessitated virtual exile to the hills of Atholl.

Bothwell, whose loyalty was always inviolable, whatever else may be said of him, was high in the Queen's favour, but at loggerheads with Moray. Political jealousy seems to have engendered an atmosphere of distrust which affected the Queen's

(1) *infra*, 106, 107, 109 ff.

(2) *infra*, 105.

(3) *ibid.*, App. III.

peace of mind. She was willing, even eager, to help to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. It was for this reason, according to information Bedford received at Berwick, that Mary went to Alloa at the end of July. Moray had been interceding for Maitland, and the Queen finally agreed to receive the former Secretary's apologies at a meeting in Fife. She lived at the house of the earl of Mar, according to Nau, and was accompanied, Holinshed says, by Moray as well as Bothwell. If a reconciliation with Maitland were in the offing, Moray would certainly wish to be present. Maitland was received into favour in September, 1566, in spite of the fact that Bothwell was hostile to him. This suggests a very different picture from that drawn by Buchanan. He insists that the Queen was at this time wholly dominated by Bothwell; that she went to Alloa alone with Bothwell and a few of his 'pirate' servants; that her sole purpose was to indulge in illicit pleasures. (1)

Buchanan's conception of the relations between Mary and Bothwell at this time is that they were already lovers in the autumn of 1566. The allegation is based on an entry in 'Moray's Diary': 'Sept. 24: She ludgit in the Chekker Hous and mett with Bothwell. The king cumyng from Striviling was repulsit with chydng.' (2) The story of their

(1) infra, 105.

(2) Laing, App. III.

scandalous behaviour while the Queen stayed at the Exchequer House - a modified version of a tale told in the Detectio - can easily be refuted. We know from Du Croc that the Queen was worried about Darnley's ill-behaved hostility, and his obvious and just fear of her nobles. She had spent some time in Stirling with Darnley and came to Edinburgh in the beginning of September to 'understand her revenues,' as Forster says, and to arrange for the maintenance of the young prince. Darnley had been threatening to leave the country, and Mary was anxious to bring about a reconciliation which would appease his enemies and calm his fears. She had already tried to bring Moray, Bothwell and Darnley to terms of peace, it would seem, when she brought them together in hunting expeditions to Meggatland and Glenartney, during August. Buchanan mentions these trips in the Detectio, but omits them in the History - clearly because they indicate some sort of reconciliation which he wished to ignore. Thus the interviews in Holyrood in September were a second attempt by the Queen, aided and encouraged by the French ambassador, to establish a modus vivendi with her husband. Du Croc and the Queen, the promises of the nobles - all failed to make an impression on Darnley, and he 'retired to Stirling as to solitude,' in Buchanan's phrase. (1) The meeting was important, however, as it effectively belies any tale of scandalous

(1) infra, 108.

relations between Mary and Bothwell. As Hay Fleming points out, the Lords of the Privy Council told Darnley that he ought to thank God for giving him so wise and virtuous a wife. Had they believed or even heard of, any such scandal as Buchanan relates, it is unlikely that they would have so unequivocally commended the Queen's behaviour. (1)

Buchanan's account of the Queen's conduct at Jedburgh in October, 1566, is equally prejudiced. Again following 'Moray's Diary,' he asks us to believe that while she was on the road, and had reached Borthwick, the Queen learned of Bothwell's injury, and immediately 'flew to Melrose, and then to Jedburgh, though it was in the depth of winter. There, though told that Bothwell's life was safe, she could not restrain her impatience. In a bad time of the year, contemptuous of the difficult roads and danger of thieves, she set out on her journey, accompanied by a train to which no gentleman of moderate circumstances would have dared to commit his life and property.' (2)

The story affords a good example of Buchanan's method of twisting fact. Bothwell was wounded on 7 October, 1566; and the account of the incident given in the Diurnal belies Buchanan's statement that the earl behaved 'in a manner

(1) Hay Fleming, 137-8.

(2) infra, 108.

unworthy of the place he held, the dignity of his family and the expectations of men.' On the same day, Mary set out from Edinburgh to hold a justice-ayre at Jedburgh. It was not until she had reached Jedburgh, Du Croc tells us, that she heard of Bothwell's injury; and she did not visit him at the Hermitage until 15 October - more than a week after the accident. October is seldom the 'depth of winter' in Scotland, though the roads may have been bad. Buchanan's observation on the Queen's company, in this passage, is different from the corresponding remark in the Detectio. In the earlier libel, he implies that Mary's convoy was not an honourable one: 'cum eo comitatu, cui nemo paulo honestior suam vitam aut fortunas committere auderet.' In the History, the statement is modified: 'cum eo comitatu, cui nemo paulo honestior vel mediocris conditionis homo suam vitam et fortunas committere auderet.' The first version implies that the convoy was not fit for an honest person; the second implies merely that it was not large enough. The version in the Book of Articles, which mentions the length and danger of the road and the 'intemperance' of the weather, but makes no criticism of the Queen's train was, it has been suggested, (1) toned down because it had been discovered that Moray was in the

(1) By Mahon, in Indictment, 51, n.8.

(2) ibid., 109, and supporting notes.

company: a fact alleged by Nau. (1) The significant differences are at once explained if Moray was indeed one of the company. In the History, Buchanan seems to have conflated the versions of the Detectio and the Book of Articles, and to have taken care to avoid the implication that a company which included his patron was dishonest.

Buchanan's tale of behaviour between Mary and Bothwell 'beyond all propriety,' while they were in Jedburgh, is inconsistent with the facts. Mary became seriously ill on 17 October, two days after her visit to the Hermitage.

Bothwell does not seem to have been brought to the town until about 21 October. The Queen was still very ill on 25 October, when Bothwell was apparently well enough to attend a Privy Council. Buchanan implies that Mary and Bothwell were 'carrying on' in Jedburgh before the Queen fell sick - the cause, he hints, may have been 'her exertions by day and night!' It is difficult to envisage improper conduct between two sick persons, especially when they were so far apart! (2)

Darnley's visit to Jedburgh during the Queen's illness has been the subject of some debate. When the Queen fell sick, Darnley was hunting in the west. We do not know precisely when he heard of Mary's illness. We do know that

(1) Nau, 31.

(2) infra, 109, and supporting notes.

he arrived in Jedburgh on 28 October - ten days after the onset of the Queen's illness. Du Croc, on 24 October, wrote: 'Le Roi est à Glasco, et n'est point venu ici. Si est ce qu'il a été adverti par quelqu'un, et a eu du temps assez pour venir s'il eut voulu, c'est une faute que je ne puis excuser.' Keith mistranslated the passage to state that the King had certainly been informed. The error was followed by Chalmers, Stevenson and Petit, all of whom accused Darnley of delaying his visit in spite of the fact that he had been told of the Queen's illness. As Hay Fleming points out, Du Croc's remark does not indicate that Darnley had been told, and Leslie's letter of 26 October says merely that 'the King all this time remains at Glasgow, and yet is not come towards the Queen's majesty!' - giving no indication that a message had been sent. (1) The position is that there is no evidence of a special messenger being sent to inform Darnley of the illness, so that it cannot truthfully be said that he dallied unnecessarily. Both the Diurnal and The Historie of James the Sext agree with Buchanan in saying that Darnley hastened to Jedburgh as soon as he heard the news. (2) Certainly some days might have elapsed before a message could be sent, several days would have been spent in seeking out the King, and he would have taken at least three days to reach

(1) Hay Fleming, 418-9.

(2) Diurnal, 101, 102. Historie of James the Sext, 1804, 6.

Jedburgh. There seems to be no reason to doubt Buchanan's statement in this instance. It was to Darnley's interest to be with his wife in those circumstances. Buchanan explains that he wished to 'demonstrate his affection and desire to please her, and at the same time to make her repent her behaviour and (as often happens in time of great danger) turn to a more decent way of life.' (1) It is more reasonable to infer that he was eager to be with her in the hope that a reconciliation would redound to his advantage in the event of her death.

Both the Diurnal and The Historie of James the Sext state, with Buchanan, that Darnley was received coldly at Jedburgh. The delay in his arrival, whatever its cause, might explain this. But there was even greater cause why Darnley should be unwelcome. Du Croc's letter of 15 October shows the intense degree of hostility entertained by the nobles towards Darnley. Not only had he betrayed his fellow-conspirators in the Riccio affair, thus earning the implacable enmity of Maitland, Morton and their friends, but he had been intriguing with Bothwell against Moray. That Darnley feared Morton's friends - the group of lords led by Moray and Argyll - is clear from Du Croc's account of the interviews at Holyrood. This alone is sufficient to account for the shortness of his stay in Jedburgh, without Buchanan's silly story of his being denied a lodging in the town.

(1) infra, 109.

Buchanan skims over the episode known as the Craigmillar Conference. He mentions that there were discussions about a divorce, and that Mary was outspoken in her desire to be rid of the King. (1) But he is purposely vague about an incident that became notorious even in his own time. The most obvious reason for his avoidance of the subject is that the Craigmillar Conference involved Moray. The truth about the discussions held then will never be known. There is no way of reconciling the statements of Buchanan, derived chiefly from the Book of Articles, and the allegations contained in the document known as the Protestation of Huntly and Argyll. But it is significant, in this context, that the existence of a band drawn up at Craigmillar in November, 1566, was well-known in Buchanan's time. The Protestation explicitly accused Moray of subscribing the band, which promised that the subscribers would find some means of ridding the Queen of Darnley. Further, it implied that Moray, Maitland, Huntly, Bothwell and Argyll were the principal undertakers of the scheme. Moray as explicitly denied having anything to do with any such band. But whatever the truth may be, it was a known fact that Moray had been accused of participation in a plot which everyone believed to have been the inception of the murder of Darnley. This is sufficient to explain Buchanan's cautious treatment of the incident.

In his account of the prince's baptism, Buchanan repeats the allegations made earlier in the Detectio and the Book of

(1) infra, 110.

Articles. His picture of Darnley, spurned and neglected, deprived of the necessary clothing for the ceremony, patiently trying to 'soothe' the 'unjust anger' of the Queen, 'almost servile' in his efforts to gain favour, is calculated to rouse compassion. (1) But there is little truth in the picture. So far from being humbled, Darnley, as we know from his father's MSS and Mary's letter to Beaton, was suspected of planning to assert his authority by force. What kept him away from the ceremony was not lack of means, but his fear of the nobles, especially as Morton has recently been pardoned. The recall of Morton, (2) who had more reason to hate Darnley than any other, since the King's betrayal had caused him to lose everything and suffer exile for many months, was an important stroke of policy which does much to throw light on the situation at court. It reflects the Queen's total rejection of her husband. It points to the ascendancy of Bothwell, who worked for Morton's pardon. It suggests a policy of reconciliation between Mary and the reformers; a policy which bore fruit for the Kirk in the shape of handsome concessions. Above all, it explains Darnley's alarm, and his willing withdrawal from a hostile court. Buchanan's account of the situation is typically over-simplified. He had, perhaps, no real understanding of the position. Even

(1) infra, 112.

(2) Morton's pardon, dated 24 Dec. 1566, is in R.S.S., V, no. 3149.

if he had, it is doubtful whether he would have elaborated, since his main anxiety was to focus attention on the Queen's 'plot,' rather than a complex political scene which involved all the major figures at court.

It is strange that Buchanan should represent Darnley as lacking sufficient clothes to attend the baptismal ceremonies at this time, and that later, after the murder, he should represent Mary as giving Darnley's rich apparel to Bothwell. (1) The enrichment of Bothwell, the splendid clothes Mary ordered for him, in contrast to her treatment of Darnley, is one of those telling points in the case against Mary which fall to pieces on closer examination. Bothwell was certainly awarded a new costume for the ceremony: but the other officiating lords were similarly equipped by the Queen. (2) That Mary personally worked on Bothwell's ceremonial robes is an assertion that cannot be proved or disproved.

Buchanan states that the ambassadors attending the ceremony were forbidden by Mary to hold communication with Darnley. Whatever the truth of this, it is certain that Du Croc refused to meet Darnley, on the grounds that his own king had ordered him 'to have no conference with him.' Furthermore, though there is nothing in Bedford's Instructions to indicate that Elizabeth forbade him to see Darnley, it

(1) infra, 112, 136.

(2) Robertson's Inventories, 61, 63, 69.

(3) infra, 112.

must be remembered that England had not yet officially recognised Darnley as King. Melville says that Bedford was sorry to see 'so little account made of the King,' (1) but there is no evidence that the ambassador did anything to alleviate the situation. Hay Fleming points out that Mary seems to have prevented a meeting between Darnley and Morette; (2) but in view of Darnley's suspected intrigues, this is no reason for supposing that she deliberately cut off communication between her husband and the ambassadors at Stirling.

The inconsistency between Buchanan's account of Darnley's leaving Stirling and that of Lennox goes far to refute the former. Lennox, according to his own account, wrote Darnley to warn him of a plan to put him in ward, and it was this that induced the young man to leave Stirling for Glasgow. Buchanan reveals his acquaintance with Lennox's MSS by mentioning that 'some think that he was sent for.' (3) But though Lennox makes no mention of poison in connection with Darnley's illness, and even indicates that the sickness was not in evidence until after Darnley had been staying in Glasgow, Buchanan calmly records the allegation that the young man was given poison before he left Stirling, and that the symptoms showed themselves before he was a mile out of the town. That such a rumour existed is beyond doubt.

(1) Memoirs, 172.

(2) Hay Fleming, 427.

(3) infra, 112.

But Buchanan must have known, as well as Lennox did, that it was unfounded. Yet he preferred to record what was obviously the result of malicious gossip, even going so far as to embellish his statement with a lie, to the effect that the Queen refused to send her physician. (1) There can be no doubt that Buchanan consciously prevaricated in this instance. It was well-known that Darnley suffered from small-pox, not poisoning. Buchanan's familiarity with Lennox must have made him aware of this. But his design being to state à outrance the case against Mary in all its rumoured blackness, he could not ignore the opportunity to suggest that the illness was the result of a first attempt at murder.

The narrative now sweeps rapidly towards its climax - the murder of Darnley. Buchanan's treatment of this notorious crime is not merely a restatement of what has been called the 'official version' - that is, the rather inchoate account presented in the documents produced at York and Westminster in 1568, and in subsequent 'confessions.' He has evidently attempted to synthesise as much of the adverse evidence as would fit the general pattern of his argument. The account of the murder given in the Detectio was clearly inadequate. It contains errors of fact which subsequently came to light, and Buchanan has incorporated this new information in the History. The Book of Articles also contains errors and contradictions which Buchanan has

(1) infra, 113 and supporting note.

modified in his latest account. The Lennox MSS in places contradict both the earlier libels, and in places contain supplementary material. Buchanan has certainly used this additional information in his latest version of the story. Added to these sources, the documentary evidence presented to the English Commissions of 1568 has been taken into account. Thus the story of the murder in Book XVIII of the History may be regarded as the definitive account endorsed by Buchanan and the leading enemies of Mary. As such it embodied the case against the Queen and Bothwell for nearly two centuries, until the 18th century apologists for Mary began to examine the 'official' account in the light of other evidential material. It is important, therefore, to study the mutations in the story between the earliest version, the Detectio, and the latest, that contained in the History. This can best be done by selecting the most important of the controverted topics and tabulating the various versions.

1. The story of the previous poisoning.

<u>Detectio</u>	Poison was administered before Darnley left Stirling.
<u>Indictment.</u>	Before Darnley was a mile out of Stirling, symptoms of 'an uncouth' sickness became apparent: but whether 'artificial or natural, God knows.'
<u>Book of Articles.</u>	As in <u>Detectio</u> , with added mention of the physician, Abernethy.
<u>Lennox MSS.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Depositions etc.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>History.</u>	As in <u>Book of Articles</u> .

2. Mary's convoy when she went to Glasgow.

<u>Detectio.</u>	The Queen was accompanied by Hamiltons and other enemies of Darnley.
<u>Indictment.</u>	As in <u>Detectio.</u>
<u>Book of Articles.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Lennox MSS</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Depositions etc.</u>	Casket Letter II: indicates that Hamiltons accompanied the Queen.
<u>History.</u>	As in <u>Detectio.</u>

3. Darnley's letter to his father, written shortly before the murder.

<u>Detectio.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Indictment.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Book of Articles.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Lennox MSS.</u>	Mentions and gives text of letter.
<u>Depositions, etc.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>History.</u>	As in <u>Lennox MSS</u> : text of letter paraphrased.

4. The quarrel between Darnley and Lord Robert.

<u>Detectio.</u>	The third day before the murder, the Queen spoke to Darnley about some words he had had with Lord Robert, and tried to raise a quarrel between them.
<u>Indictment.</u>	The Queen spoke to Darnley about the 'things which should have been spoken between him and my Lord of Holyroodhouse' on the Friday, and confronted them on the Saturday afternoon.
<u>Book of Articles.</u>	
<u>Lennox MSS</u>	
<u>Book of Articles.</u>	The Queen brought up the subject on the Saturday morning, and confronted the two men that afternoon.
<u>Depositions</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Lennox MSS</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Depositions, etc.</u>	A holograph letter purporting to reveal the Queen's attempt to raise a quarrel between Darnley and Lord Robert was shown to the English Commissioners at York, 1568.
<u>Location of the quarrel.</u>	Nau mentions the quarrel, but states that Darnley and Lord Robert had been plotting against the Queen.
<u>Detectio.</u>	
<u>History.</u>	Story told as in <u>Detectio</u> , date unspecified: the quarrel arose because Lord Robert told Darnley about the Queen's treachery.

5. The gift of a ring.

<u>Detectio.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Indictment.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Book of Articles.</u>	The Queen 'being kissing and familiarly entertaining the King, at which time she put a ring on his finger...'
<u>Lennox MSS</u>	The Queen 'gave him a goodly ring.'
<u>Depositions, etc.</u>	Nelson and Crawford both stated that the Queen gave Darnley a ring.
<u>History.</u>	Morette mentioned it. (<u>C.S.P.Venetian</u> , 1558-1580, no. 384)
<u>History.</u>	'She often kissed him, and she gave him a ring.'

6. Mary's remark on Riccio's murder, the night of the explosion.

<u>Detectio.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Indictment.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Book of Articles.</u>	Not mentioned. up for the King was removed, and 'another worse was set up in the place thereof' - to avoid needless destruction
<u>Lennox MSS</u>	'She called the King to remembrance that David her servant was murdered about that same time twelve months.' was removed and 'a meener set up in the place' - the good
<u>Depositions etc.</u>	Not mentioned. used by Mary and Darnley in the palace the next night.
<u>History.</u>	As in Lennox MSS. on states that the King's bed was removed and another substituted - because the King's bath might spoil the good bed.

7. Location of the gunpowder. which the Queen had slept was removed, and an inferior one substituted

<u>Detectio.</u>	The powder was placed under the foundations of the house. The English edition carries two confessions which allege that the powder was placed in the room under the King's bedroom.
<u>Indictment.</u>	The powder was 'put in the laich house under the King's bed.'
<u>Book of Articles.</u>	The powder was placed in the room below the King's bedroom.
<u>Lennox MSS</u>	The house was 'prepared with undermines and trains of powder.'
<u>Depositions, etc.</u>	The confessions of Paris and others state that the powder was placed in the room under the King's bedroom.
<u>History.</u>	The Indictment of Morton states that the powder was placed in mines under the house. As in <u>Book of Articles.</u>

History. Three groups mentioned: 1. by Holwell actually seen passage Buchanan relates were... of having...

8. The exchanging of the beds.

<u>Detectio.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Indictment.</u>	Not mentioned.
<u>Book of Articles.</u>	A good bed set up for the King was removed, and 'another worse was set up in the place thereof' - to avoid needless destruction of the good bed.
<u>Lennox MSS</u>	The rich bed the King used was removed and 'a meaner set up in the place' - the good bed was to be used by Mary and Darnley in the palace the next night.
<u>Depositions, etc.</u>	Nelson's deposition states that the King's bed was removed and another substituted - because the King's bath might spoil the good bed.
<u>History.</u>	The bed in which the <u>Queen</u> had slept was removed, and an inferior one substituted - for the reason stated in the <u>Book of Articles</u> .

9. The number of the conspirators.

<u>Detectio.</u>	Only one party mentioned of unspecified number, led by Bothwell.
<u>Indictment.</u>	As in <u>Detectio</u> .
<u>Book of Articles .</u>	As in <u>Detectio</u> .
<u>Lennox MSS</u>	Fifty persons surrounded the house, Bothwell leading one party of 16.
<u>Depositions, etc.</u>	In <u>Ane Admonitioun</u> Buchanan alleged that the Hamiltons formed a second group. In several 'confessions' and indictments, other groups are indicated, including one led by Archibald Douglas, and another led by Sir James Balfour.
<u>History.</u>	Three groups mentioned; only the one led by Bothwell actually specified. In a later passage, Buchanan relates that the Hamiltons were suspected of having taken part.

10. The manner of Darnley's death.

<u>Detectio.</u>	The King was killed by the explosion.
<u>Indictment.</u>	As in <u>Detectio.</u>
<u>Book of Articles.</u>	As in <u>Detectio.</u>
<u>Lennox MSS</u>	The King was suffocated by a napkin steeped in vinegar, and carried into the garden.
<u>Depositions, etc.</u>	The <u>Diurnal</u> , and Letters of Drury, Morette, etc. state that the King was strangled, and then carried into the garden.
<u>History.</u>	The King was strangled and then carried into the garden, through a door made specially for the purpose.

It will be seen that in writing his account of the affair for the History, Buchanan has drawn upon most of the (then) known sources of information. It is evident, however, that only in details which became well-known - such as the fact that Darnley was strangled and the large scale on which the crime was actually executed - did he withdraw from the statements made in the earliest 'official' versions of the affair. Wherever possible, the History reiterates the Detectio and the Book of Articles. When new facts became unavoidable, he adopted them. In at least one point, too - the removal of the bed - he has departed, probably by mistake, from the facts, even as stated in the Book of Articles.

It is not possible to compare Buchanan's account of the murder with a reasonable approximation of the truth; nor would such an exercise be relevant in a study of his

historical method. What actually happened will never finally be known, for the available evidence is confused and inadequate. But what is certain is that Buchanan's account, in almost every detail, has been so controverted by more reliable testimonies that it cannot be regarded as even approaching the truth. Furthermore, Buchanan's account follows that given in the Book of Articles, which contained the official indictment of the Queen presented to the English government. Thus it is apparent that Mary was accused and practically condemned in 1568 on evidence that is demonstrably confused, contradictory and prejudicial. Tempting as it is for Mariolators to conclude that this confusion arose from lack of solid evidence - as may well have been the case - it does not profoundly alter their problem. It indicates that the ramifications of the plot were so far-reaching, and touched so many of the persons concerned - even some of Mary's leading accusers - that Moray and his associates were quite unjustified in attributing the whole crime to Bothwell and the Queen. But it does not absolve the Queen from the gravamen of the charges against her. Serious facts remain untouched: that she was aware of some scheme for removing Darnley; that she honoured and protected and even married the man most widely held to be the chief murderer of her husband. (1)

Thus Buchanan is on stronger ground when he comes to deal with the events which followed the murder. Here he seldom requires to depart from what was well-known to be

(1) For a discussion of the circumstantial evidence against the Queen, see Robertson's DISSERTATION, App. to his History of Scotland.

true. Even a bare recital of the facts would sound ominously bad for Mary's honour. Bothwell's farcical trial, the Queen's advancement of the suspected men, the curious episode of the 'rape', the divorces, the clearly disingenuous message to France, the marriage - all tend to indicate guilty connivance on the Queen's part. But an unembellished account of the facts was neither possible nor desirable to Buchanan. He aimed at rousing horror and hatred in the reader's mind. He wished to leave an overwhelming impression of the Queen's treachery and villainy. Thus he embroiders the facts with his characteristic invention of detail, while slurring over or perverting other facts, such as the Ainslie Band, which would seem to lend some measure of justification to the Queen's behaviour.

His accusation of the Queen is partially offset, however, by his curious insistence on the part played by the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Buchanan's attitude to the house of Hamilton is clearly marked and easily understood. As a Lennoxman he must have inherited the traditional hatred borne by the Lennox family towards the Hamiltons, derived from a long rivalry and conflicting dynastic ambitions. An even more important cause of his hostility, however, was the political position of the Hamiltons during and after the personal reign of Mary. As a powerful family in close proximity to the royal house, with its own claims to the throne, the house of Hamilton seems to have pursued a policy of its own throughout the period: a policy of waiting,

perhaps, for the opportunity which would lay open the path to their own ascendancy; and of doing anything which might conceivably bring their ambitions to fruition. In the course of their tortuous plans, the Hamiltons found themselves on occasion allied to one party or another, now joining Moray and his friends against the Queen and Darnley, now supporting the Queen's cause against the Regency of Moray, now playing on their own in the hope of turning the situation to their own advantage.

Buchanan never forgave the house of Hamilton for the fact that it was one of them, James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who murdered the Regent Moray at Linlithgow in January, 1570. A few months after the murder Buchanan wrote his Admonitioun to the Trew Lordis, (1) in which he addressed the protestant lords, asserting that the house of Hamilton was, and had been for half a century, the greatest threat to the peace and the welfare of the country. He writes a scurrilous and virulent 'history' of the schemes and misdeeds of the Hamiltons, that 'slew his (Darnley's) guidshire, banishit his father, and not satisfiet to have slain him, murtherit cruellie this king's Regent, and now seeks his awin saikless blude, that they may fulfill, being kings, that cruelty and avarice whilk they begouth to exercise in time of their governing.' He enumerates several conspiracies entered upon by the Hamiltons

of the Falkland conspiracy, for example, he puts the chief (1) Vernacular Writings, 21 ff.

blame on Bothwell, and portrays the Earl of Arran (whom Buchanan excepts from his anathema, partly because of his

to gain their object, the throne of Scotland, and ^{several} attributes to their 'covatise of the croun' many of the troubles that had beset the country since the death of ^{James} James IV.¹⁸ He accuses them of having entered a 'conspiracy with the erll of Bothuile to slay the erll of Murray in Falkland,' because 'the said erll of Murray leving they could nouthir do the said quene harme in hir persoun nor diminishe hir authoritie, nor constrayne hir to mary at thair plessour and to hir uttir displessour.'¹⁹ Perhaps more significant, he accuses the bishop of St. Andrews of the murder of Darnley: 'Efter that the quene had ^{hostility} mareit with thair auld ennemy, and wes with chyld, the ^{bishop} gude bischop of Sanctandrois... not onelie conspirit with the erll Boithuile the kingis deid, bot come with the quene to Glasgow, convoyit the king to the place of his murthour, ludgeit as he did seildom afoir quhair he mycht persave the plessour of that crueltie with all his sensis and help the murthareris gif mister had bene, and send four of his servandis to execute the murthour, and watchit all the nycht, thinking lang to haif the joy of the approcheing of the croun to thair hous.'²⁰ ^{as we have seen, Buchanan accuses}

¹⁸ In the History Buchanan retains some of these ^{accusations} accusations; but they are modified to conform with his general emphasis on the Queen's guilt. In his account ^{(1) infra, 43.} of the Falkland conspiracy, for example, he puts the chief blame on Bothwell, and portrays the earl of Arran (whom ^{(2) The Archbishop was a natural son of James, first earl} parentage. (See Knox, I, 47, and page 9) Buchanan excepts from his anathema, partly because of his

protestantism, and partly because of his sudden removal from affairs) as a wronged tool of Bothwell and Gavin Hamilton. In his account of the Chaseabout raid, Buchanan repeats his earlier charge that Moray and his friends recoiled from the Hamiltons' suggestion that they should destroy the Queen. But his attitude to the Duke of Chatelherault is one of contempt rather than hatred: in the Admonitioun he calls him 'gentill of nature' and 'of small wit and greit inconstancy,' and in the History he says that he was 'a man of little malice, but too easily led into risky ventures.' (1) Most of Buchanan's hostility seems to have been directed against John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Archbishop was a sore thorn in the flesh of the reformers, and Buchanan had real cause to hate him. He was a principal enemy of Moray, and was considered to be the chief instigator of the murder of the Regent. No doubt there had been some kind of local conflict between them in St. Andrews, and Buchanan, as Principal of St. Leonard's on Moray's nomination, and a leading reformer, could not but regard the Archbishop as his enemy.

In the Admonitioun, as we have seen, Buchanan accuses 'the gude bischop of sanctandros, first callit Cunnynhame and estemit Cowane and syne avowit Hamilton' (2) of being

(1) infra, 43. (Anderson, 128)

(2) The Archbishop was a natural son of James, first earl of Arran; there were various rumours as to his real parentage. (See Knox, I, 47, and note 9)

art and part of the murder of Darnley - for which the Archbishop was hanged at Stirling in 1571. Though there is no direct evidence that he had any real part in the plot, the Archbishop was widely rumoured to have assisted in it. As early as June, 1567, it was being said that some of the Hamiltons were 'privy that the King should be rid out of his life,' though not 'of the manner' by which the crime was committed. (1) Soon after there was word that the Archbishop would actually be charged with the crime. (2) It is unlikely that there was any foundation for these rumours: in his letters and MSS, Lennox would not have missed the opportunity to accuse his most bitter enemies, if he had had any indication that they were implicated; yet though he charged Bothwell, Balfour and others by name, he made no mention of the Hamiltons. Furthermore, there was no attempt officially to implicate the Hamiltons at the conferences in England in 1568. Nevertheless, the Archbishop was clearly involved in the affairs which led to the Queen's downfall. It was alleged that he and other Hamiltons accompanied the Queen to Glasgow, to convoy the hapless Darnley to his doom. (3) More significant is the fact that

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 531.

(2) ibid, no. 544.

(3) Letter II (Henderson, 128)

(2) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 424, 575, 517.

(3) Anderson's Collections, IV, 132.

the Queen restored to the Archbishop his consistorial jurisdiction, in December, 1566, (1) and the only use he made of it was to assure Bothwell his divorce. There can be no doubt that the Archbishop was a ruthless master of intrigue, playing a deep game, and worthy of much, at least, of the vituperation poured on him by his enemies. But Buchanan's allegation that he was a prime mover in the murder is unnecessary and inept, for it befogs the clearcut exposition of the murder plot he has already made, and weakens his thesis that Mary and Bothwell planned and executed the crime between them.

It is interesting that Buchanan is careful to notice the connection of the names of Moray and Morton with the crime. That they were believed to have been privy to the plot is clear from Moray's self-exculpatory letter to Cecil of 13 March, 1567, and the subsequent incrimination of Morton. (2) There can be no doubt that many in Scotland and abroad would have welcomed the suggestion that Moray was implicated. It is generally agreed, now, that this was improbable; yet the so-called Protestation of Huntly and Argyll declares that he was aware of the plot from its inception and (in the alleged words of Lethington) would 'look through his fingers thereto.' (3) Buchanan, at any

(1) R.S.S., V, no. 3145.

(2) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 484, 678, 917.

(3) Anderson's Collections, IV, 192.

rate, seems to have considered it necessary to attribute the rumours which implicated Moray to the chicanery of his enemies. According to him the names of Moray and Morton were linked to the crime by the regicides as early as the day after the murder. It is certain that the news of the murder reached Berwick not many hours after it happened, and that official messengers were despatched the day after the murder; but there is no indication that these messengers attached guilt to anyone. Buchanan is evidently answering crimination with recrimination, and it is significant that he thought this necessary.

It is also interesting that Buchanan should have found it desirable to relate his two weird stories of supernatural echoes of the murder. Nicolson, one of the most bitter 18th century critics of Buchanan, seized this golden opportunity to jibe at him: 'He laughs at the pretended Miracles of devout Times, and yet upon the occasion of King Henry's Murder, gravely furnishes us with a Couple as plump ones as ever any Legend afforded.' (1) Buchanan's two tales are certainly 'plump.' In the first, a gentleman lying a-dying is said to have dreamed of the murder before it happened; in the second, which is even more sinister in tone, three 'familiar friends' are alleged to have undergone some experiences of the most uncanny import at the very time of the strangling. (2) This supernatural transference of experience is described with a bizarre impressiveness.

(1) Scottish Historical Library, 1702, 116.

(2) infra, 129 ff.

The insertion of the stories in a supposedly factual narrative illustrates the fundamental nature of 16th century historiography. It reminds us that dramatic intensity was more important to the historian than mere truth. Buchanan is anxious to impress his reader with the enormity of the crime, and implies that the dread unnaturalness of the murder -

Upon the sightless couriers of the air,
Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye.'

The atmosphere of working evil is sustained by further tales, of secret scratching at the walls of Atholl's lodging and Bothwell's sinister designs on Moray.

In his account of the factual aftermath of the murder, Buchanan does not in the slightest degree lessen the severity of his attack on the Queen. He was no believer in Burns's dictum that 'facts are chiels that winna ding.' He 'dings' them mightily; he dresses them in sinister implication; he ignores them or marshals them as it suits his purpose. So thoroughly does he do so that it is difficult to sift the truth from the falsity in his narrative. Little of moment escaped him in the events of 1567 and 1568; and every incident became by Buchanan's masterly technique of denigration, a further evidence of the Queen's guilt. Instead of waning, his assault reaches a new height of bitterness. The Queen's every action is turned against her. No event is related but has its unworthy motive, and always behind the deed hovers the malignant will of the Queen. It

is as if nothing existed in political life but the incessant scheming of the Queen and Bothwell, and the shocked despair of an impotent people. Buchanan's hatred is never more apparent than at this stage; nor his ruthlessness and ingenuity in perverting fact. His style becomes, if possible, even more vigorous, his denunciation more direct. His libel is here at the height of its tide, pounding home his argument in an ingenious mixture of fact and fiction.

The principal events following the murder are well known. The defamatory placards and Lennox's strenuous efforts which forced the trial of Bothwell and his creatures; the engineered acquittal; the Ainslie Band; the rape of the Queen, the divorces and the marriage: these are notoriously established facts. But accompanying and supplementing the main incidents there are, in Buchanan's account, a host of secondary points which reveal motivation: and it is these which - because they lend colour and plausibility to Buchanan's libel - must be examined and revalued.

The first and most important of these is the Queen's conduct of the investigations into the crime. Buchanan alleges that Mary did everything in her power to prevent a proper enquiry, in order to shield the criminals, whom she knew to be headed by Bothwell, and with whom she was in league. He claims that a preliminary investigation was begun on Tuesday 11 February, 'immediately after the murder of the king,' and that the evidence was suppressed because it touched the Queen too closely. He states that it was

only the insistent outcry of the people, and the persistence of Lennox, that finally forced the Queen to order a trial; and that when she finally yielded to these demands, she rendered the whole thing farcical by hastening the date, allowing no time for Lennox to prepare evidence, and by suborning and threatening the jurors. (1) According to Buchanan, the whole aftermath of the murder was dominated by the Queen's determination to prevent a revelation of the truth of the affair.

The strength of his position lies in the patent management of Bothwell's trial. All the evidence indicates that Lennox was almost alone in his insistence upon a frank and final investigation of the affair. Yet the Queen's part in the suppression of open enquiry is far from proven. There is little or no evidence pointing to improper behaviour on her part in the conduct of the business. The preliminary enquiry held on 11 February - in the rooms of Argyll, the Lord Chief Justice, was certainly a fact, but the only evidence as to its findings, apart from the libels (the Detectio and the Book of Articles, whose details are not consistent) and the untrustworthy evidence of Nelson, is to be found in a damaged document preserved among the English state papers. This paper clearly consists of depositions made by citizens who had witnessed the approach and

(1) infra, 138 ff.

departure of the murderers; but it contains little of any significance. It is in the handwriting of Alexander Hay, the clerk of the Privy Council, and is dated the 11 February. One significant point is that there is no indication on the document that either Argyll or Bothwell was present at the enquiry. Those mentioned - Huntly, Cassilis, Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, the Bishop of Galloway, etc. - are certainly men who might at the time have been considered friends of Bothwell, but they were there simply because they were of the Privy Council. The chief interest of the document is that it confirms the fact that an enquiry was made, that its details, such as they are, form no kind of confirmation for the accounts of the investigation given by Buchanan and his party; and that it actually does indicate some sort of suppression; for there is no mention of the meeting in any of the official registers. Buchanan based his information on Thomas Nelson's deposition, which declares that 'on the Monunday at efter none he (Nelson) was callit and examinat, and amangis utheris thingis wes inquiret about the keyis of the lugeing, this deponir schew that Bonkle had the key of the sellare, and the quenis servandis the keyis of hir schalmir: quhilk the laird of Tullybardin hering said, hald thair, heir is ane grund, efter quhilk wourdis spokin thair left of and procedit na farther in the inquisition.' (1)

This evidence, if it is true, confirms Buchanan's story: but it was supplied by a Lennoxman in dubious circumstances, and

(1) Anderson, IV, 165.

cannot be taken as proof that the Queen was personally active in preventing investigation of the crime; for she was not present at the meeting.

The defamatory placards, according to Buchanan, indicated the scandalised indignation of the Edinburgh citizens, their shocked protests against the suppression of investigation into the crime. Yet the nature of the bills suggests that they were deliberately designed to arouse indignation among the people. James Murray of Tullibardine was the only person actually found to have been guilty of posting these placards, in spite of the rigorous investigation which Buchanan claims to have been made into their provenance. It is certainly more consistent with the facts to suppose that the placards were the work of a small group of Bothwell's opponents, rather than that they represented a spontaneous outburst of dissatisfaction among the people. Again, Buchanan alleges that a proclamation issued by the Privy Council was a mere blind, designed to cover up the Queen's dilatoriness, and that it was issued in the knowledge that no one dared accuse Bothwell anyway. But this is an unfair interpretation of the facts. The proclamation was issued on 12 February, only two days after the crime. It offered, to anyone who could give evidence leading to the arrest of the murderers, a free pardon, two thousand pounds, and 'ane honest yeirlie rent.' (1) This was a substantial inducement.

(1) infra, 134, n.3.

Certainly those who had the courage to post the placards, or to accuse Bothwell openly even after his acquittal, need not have hesitated to accept such an offer, if they had had any real evidence to present. The truth must be that no one other than the murderers themselves possessed evidence enough to convict. Bothwell's enemies, certainly, could not have had sufficient convincing proof of his guilt; else they would have found someone honest enough, or acquisitive enough, to come forward. This is not to suggest that Bothwell was innocent: merely that his guilt was not so apparent as Buchanan would have us believe. However guilty a man may be in fact, accusation without proof is wrongful accusation. If Bothwell was guilty - and there can be no doubt that that was a general opinion at the time - his guilt was sufficiently concealed to allow of no open charge against him. Thus the Queen was not wrong to ignore the allegations made in the placards. She would have acted unjustly, in fact, if she had detained anyone on the grounds of accusation given by the placards, since the official request for evidence was ignored.

Buchanan's further allegations regarding the placards are equally unjust. He states that the proclamation carried a clause making it a capital offence to publish or even to read these libellous bills. This is untrue. No such clause is contained in the proclamation of 12 February, as printed in the register of the Privy Council.

It was only after Bothwell's trial, in which he was officially cleared of the crime, that an Act of Parliament was made against the publishers of the placards. (1) Any man acquitted of a crime is entitled to this much protection from the state. There was nothing unconstitutional in such an act; nothing tyrannical, even, though it may be considered, now, to have suggested an undue sensitivity on the part of the government, or Bothwell, or the Queen herself. Buchanan insists that all this activity in defence of Bothwell's good name derived principally from the Queen. He ignores the fact that almost all the nobility, except Morey, were present at court while this was done. He appears to forget that Bothwell was probably a far more potent force in the situation than the Queen herself. The implication that Mary could control the whole of the nobility, the Privy Council, and the courtroom with such firmness as to impose her will on them without their acquiescence, accords ill with the general history of her reign. Clearly a more realistic interpretation of the events must be found. But it is not necessary to postulate a general conspiracy among the leading figures to suppress the evidence of Bothwell's guilt: because, in spite of the allegations made by Buchanan and his party at a later date, it is far from

(1) infra, 135, n.3.

proven that such evidence existed. The truth seems to be that, at the time of Bothwell's trial, the crime was shrouded in impenetrable mystery; that suspicion touched not only Bothwell but almost everyone who had been opposed to Darnley; and that there was a general consensus of opinion that the least said the better.

This is very different from Buchanan's argument, that Bothwell was universally known to have been guilty, and that the Queen deliberately coöperated with him to suppress the truth. It must be acknowledged that Mary was almost certainly reluctant to expose Bothwell to trial. Even if she were not already in love with him, she was frankly demonstrating her high regard for him. She entrusted him with high place in the government. She lavished him with gifts. She readily succumbed, soon after, to his wooing. These are facts derived from state records and her own statements. The implication that she was infatuated with him is inescapable. That she refused to believe in his guilt, or even, believing, refused to acknowledge it without substantial proof, would be a natural if shocking consequence of her passion. We cannot disprove this, as we cannot prove the contrary. But according to Buchanan, her actions were even more reprehensible. Knowing and sharing his guilt, he declares, the Queen followed various shifts to protect him from public vengeance, using her position to safeguard the murderer of her husband. Now,

whatever Mary may have felt, in private, it can be shown that in public she did nothing that can properly be held blameable. We have seen that there are no grounds for Buchanan's allegation that she deliberately suppressed investigation into the anonymous charges against Bothwell. It is equally demonstrable that once these charges were made with sufficient backing - by Lennox - the Queen did not attempt, as Buchanan alleges she did, to subvert the ordinary processes of justice. (1)

This is made clear in the correspondence between Lennox and the Queen. Lennox was naturally anxious to see the guilty persons arrested and punished, and he evidently accepted the charges made in the first placard which was posted on 16 February, a week after the crime. On 20 February he wrote Mary, demanding that she should call a parliament, to deal with the affair. Mary replied promptly, next day, saying that she had already taken steps to have parliament summoned. The proclamation for the parliament was made on 27 February, and it was summoned to meet on 14 April. Lennox wrote again, on 26 February, asking that the persons accused in the placards be detained and sent to trial, before the parliament met. Mary replied on 1 March, expressing her willingness to proceed against anyone accused; but the placards were so numerous, and the persons delated so various, that she did not know which persons should be arrested. She requested Lennox specifically

(1) infra, 138, n.2.

to name those he wished her to proceed against. It was not until 12 March that Lennox finally named Bothwell, Balfour, Chalmers, and six others. The Queen was now obliged to set matters in motion for the trial of those delated, and on 28 March - after a delay which could not, in the 16th century, be called unusual, the Privy Council arranged the trial for 12 April. There is little in the procedure so far that could be regarded as unjustifiable. It is true that no arrest was made, but parole may have been accepted, and anyway there was no traditional necessity for the arrest of one nobleman due to be tried on the accusation of another. It is true that Bothwell was present at the Privy Council meeting which arranged the trial; but this, too, was not improper, since he sat there of right. It might even be said that his willingness to undergo trial spoke in his favour. Buchanan's allegation that the Queen 'contrived by deceit to evade' Lennox's demands is clearly unfounded. (1) Again, his claim that the Queen deliberately arranged that the trial should take place before the parliament is absurd, since we know that this was specifically demanded by Lennox. According to Buchanan, the trial was fixed hastily in order to prevent Lennox from having time to convene support. (2) This is palpably false. There was no unusually short period between the proclamation of parliament and the beginning of the session, and to arrange this would have been the Queen's only method of hastening the trial, since she was ready to

(1) infra, 138.

(2) infra, ibid.

comply with Lennox's request that it be held before parliament began. Again, the Privy Council had summoned Lennox 'and all utheris' concerned at the same time as it had fixed the day of the trial, so that the plaintiff's side had as much time to prepare a case as had the accused. Lennox asked for a delay, on the grounds that he was ill, the day before the trial was due. (1) Buchanan makes no mention of this, though he implies that the trial was held unduly early. The authorities, however, could hardly be expected to postpone the trial on those grounds. Lennox sent a representative, Robert Cunningham, to the trial. He alleged that his master had been forbidden to bring supporters to Edinburgh. The allegation was apparently widely believed at the time. The English government accepted it, and Lord Grey's Instructions of 25 April included a protest by Elizabeth against this injustice. (2) Yet there is no evidence to support the claim. The proclamation which fixed the trial clearly invites Lennox to bring friends in among the Scots lords at this time. Buchanan states the allegation as a fact.

There can be no doubt, of course, that the trial was 'rigged.' Bothwell paraded his power in the city to such effect that Lennox feared, as Buchanan says, to come near the court. No doubt his 'illness' stemmed from alarm. The jury, too, certainly consisted of men friendly to Bothwell.

(1) *Keith*, II, 538.

(2) *infra*, 139, note 2.

The indictment refers to the murder as having occurred on the 9 April, an error which Tytler, among others, believed was 'too manifest to be accidental.' (1) The verdict, which amounted to a verdict of non-proven, was probably justified, however, by the absence of irrefutable evidence. However great was the suspicion against Bothwell, it was unlikely that it could have been proved so long as his enemies lacked the power to force confessions from his servants.

Buchanan's explanation of the 'Ainslie Band' is characteristic in that it answers, without acknowledging the fact, an argument put forward by Mary's friends. The Queen herself, and her supporters in after years, found justification of her marriage to Bothwell in the fact that most of the leading nobles at court had signed a document expressing their support of Bothwell's claim to the Queen's hand. The existence of such a document cannot be refuted, and it suggests that Bothwell found a formidable strength of support among the Scots lords at this time. Mary's claim that the Band influenced her in favour of Bothwell need not be taken very seriously: but the document certainly throws suspicion of chicanery on those who signed it in April and rose in rebellion two months later. Buchanan is fully aware of the embarrassing implications of the agreement. This is no doubt why he invented an elaborate explanation of how it came

(1) Tytler, History, III, 243.

(2) Anderson, Collections, I, 113.

to be. According to Buchanan, the signatures were obtained by a cunning stratagem. Bothwell arranged an entertainment for the nobles present at court, and 'when they were all reduced to a state of merriment' he presented them with the paper for their subscription. Their discomfiture, and the assurance that the Queen's will conformed, induced them to sign. Next day they obtained from the Queen written confirmation that this met her own wishes. (1) This 'warrant' of the Queen's will is the crucial evidence in support of Buchanan's story. Unfortunately it is not known to exist. On 11 October, 1568, the Regent's Commissioners, of whom Buchanan was one, presented a document purporting to be a holograph warrant of this nature to the English representatives at York. The document was not produced at Westminster in December, 1568, when the English Queen hoped to clear the matter of all mystery. (2) It seems to have been withdrawn, along with some other papers of great significance. The reason for this may be conjectured. In 1727 James Anderson published such a document in his Collections, which he found in the Cottonian Library. (3) Though its authenticity is not certain, it is possible that this signed approval of the Ainslie Band by the Queen was the one said to have been submitted at York in October, 1568;

(1) infra, 144-5.

(2) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 854, 912, 913.

(3) Anderson, Collections, I, 111.

and that it is this to which Buchanan refers. Anderson's document, however, is dated 14 May, 1567 - the day before the Queen's marriage, and more than three weeks after the signing of the Ainslie Band. So much had happened between the signing of the Ainslie Band and the eve of the marriage that the Queen's belated 'approval' of the Band, even if it were genuine, would have been useless as a justification of the behaviour of the signatories.

Concerning the events leading up to the marriage between Mary and Bothwell, Buchanan's narrative appears to be based, though it does not solely rely upon, ascertainable fact. Here, indeed, the indictment against Mary becomes formidable. That the sham 'rape' of the Queen's person was pre-arranged is almost certain. Kirkcaldy's letter of 24 April, written on the day of the 'rape' and forecasting the event, leaves no doubt that Bothwell's intention was to achieve a fait accompli which would smooth the way to his advancement. Kirkcaldy is in no state of uncertainty about the Queen's will in the matter. 'Judge ye,' he exclaims to Bedford, 'geif it be with hyr will or no!' (1) Nor need anyone doubt but that Mary was willing to be taken. Bothwell was bold and reckless, but not so foolish as to lay hands upon the sovereign unless he were convinced that his action would meet with her consent, and the non-intervention of the

(1) Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 496.

the remainder of the nobility. The incident savoured more of a scheme than a venturesome coup effected by a foolhardy wooer. And in the light of the Queen's circumstances, assuming her infatuation for Bothwell, it was a reasonably cunning means of justifying a hasty marriage.

Buchanan, of course, repeats the current gossip of the day, embroidering it after his fashion with details calculated to show the Queen in the most unfavourable light. That Mary went to Stirling in the hope of wresting the prince from the custody of Mar was reported by Kirkcaldy the day before she set out, and the rumour seems to have been widely circulated. Buchanan's account of the interview between the Queen and Mar shows Mary as being foiled in her design by the earl's prudent foresight: 'he showed her the boy, indeed, but in such a way that he was always in his own keeping.' (1) The story is far-fetched, but it cannot be disproved. It recurs in Melville's Memoirs, though this proves little, since the old knight seems frequently to have supplemented his reminiscences by recourse to Buchanan's History.

(1) According to Buchanan, the Queen then set out for Edinburgh, but became ill soon after she left Stirling. (2) He suggests, characteristically, that the pain was caused by her wrath at being frustrated of her design. Recovering,

(1) infra, 146.

(2) infra, ibid.

she reached Linlithgow, whence she sent Paris with a letter to Bothwell, to arrange for the 'rape.' This is one of Buchanan's curiously rare references to the Casket Letters. Letter VII, which is generally taken to refer to the 'rape,' was first published as an appendix to the Detectio in 1571/2. Buchanan evidently considered it to be an important item of evidence, for it is mentioned in the Detectio, the Book of Articles, and the History. Yet he makes no effort to supply the text of the letter, nor even a brief summary of its contents. This is a significant point. Buchanan frequently reveals his knowledge of important documents, quoting them or citing them in full. Obviously, the text of a letter proving the Queen's connivance at Bothwell's seizure of her would have been a damning piece of evidence against her. Yet Buchanan's reference to it is slight and casual. A reason for this soon suggests itself - and it applies generally to Buchanan's reticence concerning the Casket Letters.

Whether or not the Letters are genuine - a question that cannot be examined here - they were certainly inexplicit. (1) Only in a few instances can they be said to throw much light

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- (1) The problem of the Casket Letters is discussed in the following works: T. F. Henderson, Mary, Queen of Scots and The Casket Letters and Mary, Queen of Scots; Andrew Lang, The Mystery of Mary Stuart; Scottish Historical Review, V, 1-12, 160-174; Lang's History, II, App. A; R. H. Mahon, Mary, Queen of Scots, and The Tragedy of Kirk o' Field; R. Chauvire, Revue Historique, vols. 174, 175.

as established truth. The Letters, being even then objects of much debate, could not be presented as bare facts. They

on the events they purport to illustrate. Their chief value, to Buchanan's party, was that they indicated Mary's love for Bothwell - a fact which, they reasoned shrewdly, would go far to establish the supposition of her guilt in the murder. They did not contain much information as to the actual events which were taking place. Their value as evidence lay in the atmosphere of intrigue which they suggested, not in any plain revelation. This was at once their strength and their weakness as evidence. It was much that Moray and his associates could furnish material to prove that Mary was in love with Bothwell - but it was not enough. They needed, in truth, to support the inference that her infatuation induced her to coöperate in the murder. If the Letters were tampered with, even slightly, this could be effected. Here, then, is an explanation - though it must remain a mere hypothesis - both of the mystery that surrounds the original texts and the evident care taken by Buchanan that the contents of the Letters should not enter into his narrative. The original texts would do nothing to support his case, for they were vague and inexplicit. The texts submitted for examination by the English government were not only enigmatic but actually suspect: they meant little or nothing without a detailed exposition of what they signified. It was no part of Buchanan's technique to discuss in the History the intricacies of a political controversy. His style was oracular. He presented his 'facts' gravely as established truth. The Letters, being even then objects of much debate, could not be presented as bare facts. They

They were therefore omitted. The events which followed the
 sham It could be suggested that Buchanan omitted the texts
 of the Letters because he was aware that they were not genuine.
 This, however, involves some contradictions. Buchanan does
 not actually ignore the existence of the Letters. He
 relates the finding of the Casket, and on more than one
 occasion he refers to and uses as authority some of the
 documents which it was said to contain. Again, Buchanan
 was clearly not averse to using false evidence in his history:
 he frequently asserted what he undoubtedly knew to be dubious,
 if not actually untrue. It was not the spuriousness, but
 the very uselessness of the Letters which probably determined
 his treatment of them. The general form of his narrative -
 which was denunciatory rather than expository - precluded
 long discussions of the relevancy of his material. Though
 he seems to have been prepared to cite as evidence anything
 which supported his case, he was not prepared to argue the
 value of his evidence. Such discussions would have weakened
 the force of his indictment of the Queen; as his tedious
 wrangling with Lloyd's theories have weakened his
 introductory Books. The powerful effect of his attack on
 Mary is achieved primarily by the swiftness, the uninterrupted,
 dogmatic directness of his narrative, the steady accumulation
 of one damning instance after another: and the untimely
 interpolation of dubious evidence would have marred that effect.
 evil of the Queen standing out with something of the stark

Buchanan's account of the events which followed the sham rape of the Queen offers little opportunity for criticism. Here he is dealing with facts which are, for the most part, undeniable. A study of the annotations to the text will show that only in comparatively unimportant details does Buchanan err in his narrative. This period is well-documented, owing to the detailed reports sent to France by M. de Croc and others, as well as the exhaustive accounts preserved in the English state papers. This was the time, too, when Buchanan entered into public affairs, as Moderator of the General Assembly, and his close acquaintanceship with political developments is reflected by his firmer adherence to fact, his increased confidence in assertion and his less selective treatment of events. This does not mean that his narrative becomes less prejudicial. At no point does Buchanan abate his virulent partisanship. He shows no more compassion or understanding in his attitude to the Queen's dilemma than before. His conception of her, indeed, becomes even more partial, more unjust, less discerning. His picture is of a bitter and frustrated woman, recklessly defiant of moral and constitutional conventions, at once a virago and a maudlin fool: a woman without heart or brain, loyalty or good faith. It is not a consistent picture. It is neither plausible nor true; and yet it is terribly effective. It is all black and white, the supposititious evil of the Queen standing out with something of the stark

horror exemplified by Shakespeare's Regan, a foil to the blameless nobility of the Confederates. There is no touch of pity in Buchanan's story: and yet he depicts some scenes of moving pathos. Mary's parting with Bothwell, her weary progress as a beaten prisoner through the silent throngs in Edinburgh, her tearstained face at the window of the provost's house - here, surely, one might expect a glimpse of compassionate feeling. But Buchanan's power is all piled against such soft emotion. It is a White Devil, not a Tragic Queen, he depicts. A woman, seeing her drawn, tear-daubed face, cries, 'God bless her!' Mary stops, turns, and cries 'among other threats that she would burn the town and quench the flames with the blood of its treacherous citizens.' (1)

Buchanan is never more like Knox than in this exultant relation of the Queen's discomfiture. But Knox could convey a sincerity of moral outrage that Buchanan lacks: no doubt because his religious convictions were less genuine. One is seldom conscious of a genuine fervour in Buchanan's picture of the triumph of the 'good' over the 'evil' - one has an impression rather of the feigned passion of a skilled advocate, winding up the case for the prosecution with a rhetorical onslaught which veils an inexplicit defence of an argument he knows to be incomplete. And this impression of special pleading is confirmed and given substance by one's more comprehensive awareness of the political scene which Buchanan depicts so narrowly. For in truth the climactic events of his narrative suggest an atmosphere of civil

(1) infra, 180.

rebellion rather than the final extrusion of an intolerable tyranny.

It cannot be stressed too often that Buchanan's account of this period is designed to justify the rebellion against Mary. Throughout his narrative there recur passages which point to a defensive vindication of such rebellion. His political theory was such that the removal of an unjust sovereign was not only the privilege but the duty of a free people. Buchanan's concept of sovereignty was essentially legalistic and was derived from a long medieval tradition. He accepted the postulate of some kind of contract between king and people whereby the ruler bound himself to the law. Sovereignty derived from the people and could be withdrawn by the people. The law was above the king just as it was above the ordinary citizen. Two principles emerge from this doctrine which shocked two centuries, but which did much to lay the foundations of democracy. One was the principle of elective monarchy. According to Buchanan, the Scottish throne had never been hereditary. Throughout his History, as we have seen, he sought to impress this upon the reader. The second principle follows, that if the subjects appoint the ruler, even in theory, then they may dismiss him, if he is unfit. This principle - that a people may lawfully remove an unworthy ruler - is also insisted upon in the History, mostly in the Books dealing with the reign of Mary. Again and again, while demonstrating Mary's unworthiness to rule, Buchanan is reminding his reader

that it is lawful, even necessary, to remove an unfit sovereign. He makes Mary's wiser friends remind her of this before she leaves France: 'Rebellions there (i.e. in Scotland) spring less from the people than from the rulers, when they try to reduce a kingdom which from earliest times had always been ruled by law to an absolute and lawless despotism, such as a race more warlike than wealthy could not endure. But all their kings who did not attempt to infringe the rights of the people had reigned not only secure from enemies and popular tumults, but in the greatest affection of their subjects, unvanquished by foes and renowned abroad.' (1) The whole tenor of Buchanan's account of Mary's personal reign is that she was unworthy of sovereignty, because of her personal dishonour and her attempts to flout the law of the kingdom. Ruthven re-iterates this at the murder of Riccio: 'What had now happened was no new thing. The authority of Scottish kings derived from the law: the kingdom was not accustomed to be ruled by the whims of one person, but according to the written law and the consent of the nobility. Any kings who attempted to overthrow this practice had suffered severely for their rashness.' (2)

(1) infra, 8.

(2) infra, 101.

However reasonable, however traditional the concept might seem to Buchanan, he could not but realise that it was unpopular in his day. In a war-torn world, people and aristocracy alike quailed at the idea of an unstable throne; and though the extremists of succeeding generations might assert these principles, it required more than a century of blood-shedding, argument and disillusionment to establish the idea of popular sovereignty which emerged from Locke and the Revolution of 1688. Buchanan was conscious that his argument would find little favour, that his History would 'displease many,' and that the rebellion he justified had shocked even many of those who wished to profit by it. Accordingly he does all he can to show up the rebels in the best possible light. He alleges that Mary and Bothwell had designs on the young prince, and he insists that it was for the protection of the prince that Morton and his party banded themselves together, ignoring the fact that the Confederate Lords also claimed to be dedicated to the 'liberation' of the Queen from Bothwell. Thus he avoids the embarrassment of the change in the rebels' avowed aims. At first they claimed to be seeking the Queen's freedom from Bothwell's clutches, and his punishment for the murder of Darnley. As soon as the Queen was in their power, however, they changed their tack. They did not rest until she had relinquished the Crown. The truth must be that they were bent upon this outcome from the beginning, and probably gave the Queen no opportunity to come to any agreement with

them. They were careful to tell Throckmorton that she would not abandon Bothwell - which was probably the truth. But they seem to have made no attempt to set up her authority again, even nominally. Buchanan's insistence on the mob's hatred of her and her obvious dangerousness to the people points to the real cause of the situation. Some of the reformers had never accepted the possibility of peaceful compromise with Mary. Her unpopular marriage with Bothwell merely provided another opportunity to resist her authority openly, as they had been ready to do in 1565. It is true that there was a remarkable unity of protestants and catholics against Mary and Bothwell in 1567. The nation's revulsion against the marriage cannot be denied. But many who had opposed Bothwell were willing, even eager, to reach a modus vivendi with the Queen herself. It is probable, however, that the ringleaders - Morton, Glencairn, Lindsay, Ruthven and Ochiltree - with Moray's support in the background, were determined, from the onset of the rebellion, that there could be no compromise with the Queen. It is certain that from the moment they had her in their power, they resisted all attempts at reconciliation. Buchanan's glorification of their cause would seem to justify the actions of this party in the light of the later disruption of the alliance against Bothwell.

It is difficult to estimate how much support the rebels had in the country, at this time. Though they were strong enough, with the participation of Argyll and Atholl, both

powerful men, they must have been taken aback, as Buchanan admits, by the formidable support the Queen found when she called for assistance. Had she waited, indeed, until Huntly and the Hamiltons had joined^d her, she would never have lost her liberty at Carberry Hill. Buchanan was aware of this, and does not try to conceal the fact. After her imprisonment, when it became clear that the rebels had no intention of allowing her to retain the throne, many of those who had resisted Bothwell were now prepared to fight for the Queen's reinstatement - Buchanan acknowledges this, too. But he takes some trouble to explain their changing sides in terms of their self-interest. First Argyll, with his henchman Boyd, then William Murray of Tullibardine turned against the rebels, and are accordingly accused by Buchanan of treachery and self-seeking, though they were all subsequently reconciled to Moray. James Balfour, that 'vrai traître,' once more changed sides. Maitland of Lethington, also, is accused by Buchanan of working secretly for the Queen's liberation.

Buchanan seems to have detested Maitland. Throughout his History, he mentions him only once or twice without revealing his detestation - when he tells of his serving Moray in the first years of Mary's reign. The kaleidoscopic political behaviour of Maitland would not have earned Buchanan's hatred, had it not eventuated in his desertion of Moray. It was this desertion which called forth Buchanan's devastating satirical onslaught on Maitland's

murder of Darnley; but in the same way as he

honour, the 'Chamaeleon.' (1) Like the 'Admonitioun,' the 'Chamaeleon' was written in 1570, when Buchanan took up his pen to formulate his grief and anger at the death of his patron Moray. It is a forcefully-written, savagely sarcastic lampoon written in what is probably the most effective Scots prose of the period; an amusing, shrewd and hard-hitting recital of Maitland's many real and apparent changes of policy throughout his career. It depicts Maitland as a notorious Machiavel, changing his colours as it served the time, cunningly bent on his own advancement, adept in flattery, devoid of gratitude and ruthless in vengeance, and a chief enemy to his country's welfare. Buchanan's estimate of Maitland's character has remained to stain his reputation, in spite of efforts to refute it. His frequent changes of political sides can be explained partially, of course, as far-sighted devotion to the welfare of Scotland and the prize of the English succession. But the fact remains that the man was actuated either by passionless expediency or some inexplicit idealism of a complexity which no one has been able fully to comprehend. For Buchanan, Maitland's blackest sin was defection to the Queen's party after her imprisonment. Of the many accusations in the 'Chamaeleon,' the only ones Buchanan repeats in the History are concerned with Maitland's behaviour after the battle of Carberry Hill. In the pamphlet Buchanan openly states that Maitland devised the murder of Darnley; but in the History he goes only so far

(1) Vernacular Writings, 42 ff.

to say that it was 'believed' that he was privy to the plot. (1) Bothwell and Maitland were seldom friendly: but some sort of compromise had been arrived at between them in the autumn of 1566. The uneasy truce was shattered on Mary's marriage to Bothwell. According to Buchanan, in the 'Chamaeleon,' Maitland then joined the Lords with the set purpose of seeking the Queen's death by act of parliament, in order to be rid of an inconvenient witness to his part in the murder-plot. When Bothwell was seized and imprisoned in Denmark, Buchanan says, Maitland then conspired for the Queen's release. These charges are repeated in the History, with the addition that Maitland's plan was to aid the Queen to destroy the prince, 'lest the son, when he assumed the government, should become the avenger of his father's death' - a familiar motive in Buchanan's book. Buchanan's explanation of Maitland's motives in first acting against the Queen and then seeking a reconciliation with her has been re-echoed even in modern times. (2) But on the available evidence it is at least as probable that Maitland's policy was consistently to serve the Queen; that he joined the Confederates only so long as Bothwell dominated Mary; and that his apparent support of the Regent's government was a sham. It is difficult to believe, however, that Maitland

(1) infra, 194.

(2) Lang, History, II, 189. Chambers, II, 275.

was 'naturally unselfish' and 'devoted himself with absolute devotion to the common good,' as Skelton avers. (1)

Maitland - the 'Mitchell Wylie' of so many devious schemes - no doubt entertained a higher purpose than Buchanan allows him. But he was a true exponent of the political art of expediency. For him each situation provided new opportunities to be met in the light of what was most likely to succeed. No doubt he looked often to his own interests; yet he did much for Scotland, and spent his last months in Mary's service.

But little exception can be taken to Buchanan's account of events from the Queen's imprisonment to the battle of Langside. It is true that he is disingenuous in his treatment of the situation which arose after the news of the Queen's deposition had been made public. He makes no mention of the active intervention of the English on Mary's behalf: Throckmorton's embassy, and the rapprochement between Elizabeth and the Hamiltons. But little of this could be known at the time; though even if he had known of it, Buchanan would not willingly have brought attention to the formidable opposition his party's actions had aroused. It is true, also, that his account of Moray's first months of regency is one-sided; that he refers only casually to the Regent's severity in putting down Catholics and other offenders; that he makes no mention of the Regent's tortuous foreign policy, which led him to conciliate as far as

(1) Skelton, Maitland of Lethington, II, 275.

he could both France and England; and that he fails to mention Hay of Talla's public confession, in which it was alleged that a band for Darnley's murder had been drawn up and signed by such noblemen as Argyll, Lethington and Huntly - two of whom had been close to Moray at the time. Other details - most of them of possible discredit to Moray - are omitted by Buchanan: things which he doubtless knew. But these are tenuous criticisms which need not seriously be levelled at a contemporary chronicle. By and large, Buchanan's distortion of fact is discernible only where distortion is required to suit his argument. With the events of 1567-8 Buchanan needed to tamper very little. Given the premises he had already built up, his case against the Queen could be rounded off by recourse to indisputable facts. That he succeeded in constructing a damning case need not be disputed. For generations it was Buchanan's account of the tragic Queen's reign which formulated opinion, and little was done to refute it until the middle of the 18th century.

It remains to be stated what conclusions with regard to Mary's reign may be drawn from a critical review of Buchanan's work. One obvious conclusion is that Buchanan's account of the reign is far from accurate. Setting aside the details of his inaccurate chronology, one sees that even with regard

to major events Buchanan was selective and prejudiced in his narrative. It follows from this that his case against Mary cannot be accepted as proven. It is built upon assertions and allegations, many of which are demonstrably false. Furthermore, it becomes evident that the account given by Buchanan, a man who lived through the period and played an important rôle in the events as a member of one of the contending parties, must in a wide sense represent the political statement of that party: and in so far as Buchanan's history is inadequate as an account of the reign, his party's case is also inadequate. Whatever may be the truth about Mary, Queen of Scots, it is not to be found in the considered statement of her opponents' major apologist.

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A few days after the death of the Regent (1) a truce was concluded for a short time, (2) and the leaders of both sides convened to hear the envoys who had come from France and England to negotiate an agreement. (3) Their chief obstacle to reaching any agreement was that the French, who had acquired great booty from the surrounding district during the previous winter, refused to leave except with their baggage untouched. When they could not secure this, they renewed their raids even more fiercely than before, but with less success. (4) At length, when all were tired of the fighting, and could not conceal their desire for peace, the envoys from each side met to renew their negotiations. (5) The reasons that especially determined their great eagerness for peace were the following. The French were almost in extreme desperation, for all hope of assistance had been cut off, and their provisions were dwindling from day to day,

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- (1) Mary of Lorraine died at 12.15 in the night of 10-11 June, 1560. (MS. Despenes de la Maison Royale, 1560; Diurnal, 59, etc.)
- (2) A suspension of arms was arranged for 17-22 June, 1560. (C.S.P.For., 1560-61, nos. 204, 205.)
- (3) The French envoys were Jean de Monluc, bishop of Valence, and Charles de la Rochefoucauld de Randan. The English envoys were Sir William Cecil and Dr. Nicholas Wotton. (Rymer, Foedera, XV, 591; Keith, I, 286, ff.)
- (4) The first Conference to be held in Scotland was in Edinburgh, on 17 June, 1560. Negotiations broke down because the French would not meet Cecil's demand for the recognition of the treaty of Berwick. (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 840) There is no evidence to support Buchanan's explanation of the break-down, and there was no further fighting after the truce.
- (5) The final meeting began about 2 July. (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 841)

and could not hold out for long. (1) The English were wearied of the long siege, no less straitened for provisions than the French, and longed for the end of the war. (2)

The Scots, who were serving without pay, and were for that reason the more difficult to hold in camp, willingly heard talk of a treaty. Thus at length with complete unanimity on 8 July, the year of our Lord 1560, peace was proclaimed.

These, briefly, were the terms(3): the French were to embark within twenty days, with their baggage untouched; and since they did not then possess sufficient ships to transport such a multitude, they would borrow ships from the English, leaving hostages until the return of the fleet. Leith would be restored to the Scots, and its walls destroyed. The fortifications recently built by the French at Dunbar would be razed. When these things laid down by the treaty were done, the English would at once withdraw their forces.

Mary, Queen of Scots, with the consent of her husband, Francis, would grant an Act of Oblivion for all that had been done or

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- (1) The French were confident of being able to hold out until September. (Missions of de la Brosse, 167; see also C.S.P.For., 1560-61, no. 242.)
- (2) Elizabeth was straitened for money, but not supplies. (C.S.P.For., 1560-61, nos. 209, 217, etc.)
- (3) The treaty was concluded on 6 July, 1560. (Diurnal, 50, etc.) The terms of the treaty are in Rymer, Foedera, XV, 591 ff, and in Keith, I, 287 ff. The terms applying to the Scots are not part of the treaty proper, but special Concessions granted by Francis and Mary.

attempted by the Scots nobles from 10 March 1559 until 1 August 1560. (1) This act would be ratified in the next meeting of the Estates of Scotland, which was deferred until the month of August, Francis and Mary to give their consent to its being held. (2) Sixty French soldiers were to garrison the island of Inchkeith and the Castle of Dunbar, that the Queen might not seem wholly deprived of her kingdom. (3)

From the departure of the foreign soldiers until the return of the Queen there was no more conflict. (4) The appointed parliament was held in Edinburgh, in which the chief thing done was the advancement of the true faith. (5) The Acts were sent to France, that the Queen might subscribe them - more to reveal her state of mind than with the hope of accomplishing anything. (6) Envoys were sent to England,

(1) These dates are incorrect. The Act of Oblivion was to cover the period from 6 March, 1558/9 to the date of the Parliament of 1 August, 1560. (Keith, I, 302.)

(2) The consent of Francis and Mary was not obtained, so that this Parliament was of dubious legality. (Rait, Parliaments of Scotland, 195, ff.)

(3) That is, there was to be a garrison of 60 men in each.

(4) Both armies withdrew on 15 July. The French embarked on 17 and 18 July. (C.S.P.For., 1560-61, no. 388)

(5) The 'Reformation Parliament' met on 1 August, 1560. (A.P.S., II, 525.)

(6) This is an echo of Knox. (Knox, I, 342.)

(3) There is no doubt that Condé at least had been guilty of treason. (for an account of affairs in France at this time see Lavisse et Lehoucq, Histoire Générale, V, 116, ff; Antoine de Navarre was not confined to life imprisonment, but merely put under supervision.

to render thanks for such great assistance in a time of such need. (1) Not long after there arrived in France, Sir James Sandilands, who was a Knight of the College of Rhodes, and who, till now, had been free from the discords of faction. His task was to assuage any resentment which remained on account of the war, by justifying what had previously been done; and he was to try any means in his power to establish harmony. (2) But he arrived in very troublesome times. The French government was at this time in the hands of the Guises; who, after they had seen that blandishments and threats were of little effect, were trying to suppress the opposing party by force of arms. Those whom they could not charge with heresy they accused of high treason. Already the King of Navarre had been condemned to life imprisonment, and his brother the Prince of Condé had been sentenced to death. (3) Anne, Duke of Montmorency,

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- (1) The envoys were Maitland, Morton and Glencairn. Buchanan is silent about their chief mission: to propose a match between Elizabeth and Arran. (Knox, I, 346; Cal. Scot. Papers, I, nos. 885, 887, etc.)
- (2) Sir James Sandilands of Calder was head of the Order of St. John in Scotland, later 1st Lord Torphichen. He left Edinburgh for France in mid-September. (Diurnal, 62.) He arrived in France at the end of October, having spent some time in England. (C.S.P.For., 1560-61, nos. 690, 716) He was by no means 'free from the discords of faction' - he had married contrary to his oath, he had subscribed the treaty of Berwick, and he had obtained the property of the Order from the parliament of 1560. (A.P.S., II, 525 ff; Keith, II, 2; Knox, I, 308.)
- (3) There is no doubt that Condé at least had been guilty of treason. (for an account of affairs in France at this time see Lavissee et Rambaud, Histoire Générale, V, 112, ff) Antoine de Navarre was not condemned to life imprisonment, but merely put under supervision.

and his two nephews, Gaspar and Francis de Coligny, and their relative, the Lord Lieutenant of Chartres, were being marked down for death. Besides these, over ten thousand had been noted for prosecution. Moreover, every kind of terror was presented to men's eyes and minds. Orléans was full of soldiers. Bands of cavalry were stationed all over the countryside. All public roads were guarded by their patrols. In the law-courts a mere few held the lives, fortunes and reputations of the most respected citizens in their hands. All the steeples of churches and towers round the walls had their windows blocked and their doors fortified, ready to be used as prisons. Judges of capital offences were convened from all over the kingdom. The manner of administering the punishment had been arranged thus: as soon as the thaw made the Loire navigable, the king would withdraw to Chinon, at the mouth of the river Vienne, in Poictou. The Guises, with a few others, would exact the penalties in accordance with the instructions of the royal council, of which they themselves were the leaders. (1)

This was the situation when Sandilands arrived at court, not humbly to pray forgiveness for past actions, but

(1) Buchanan's description of the measures taken by the Guises at this time is only slightly exaggerated. (Lavissee et Rambaud, V, 117.)

(3) 'Of a rotten ear' according to Knox. (Knox, I, 347.) It is thought that Francis died of a cerebral abscess caused by a suppurating inflammation of the ear. (Potiquet, la maladie et la mort de François II.)

(4) The text reads: 'Mortuus autem cum de morte Regis intelligen- ad Mensis Decembris apprehendit.' Buchanan's emendation: 'Mortuus autem de morte Regis ad Mensis Decembris, cum apprehendit' is the only reasonable reading.

to vindicate his countrymen, by throwing the blame for the disorders on the French. (1) The Guises bitterly upbraided him, that he - a man devoted to a holy order of knighthood - should have undertaken to bear the commission of rebels, on behalf of that odious heresy which with the consent of all nations had been condemned in the Council of Trent. They could scarcely credit the stupidity, indeed the madness, of the Scots, that they who were so few in number, so racked by internal discord, so destitute of war equipment and especially of money, should, without provocation, challenge a king so powerful and so free from foreign enemies. (2)

Amid these mutterings and threats, the king suddenly fell sick. (3) The envoy was dismissed without an answer. But the news of the king's death on the 5 December overtook him at Paris. (4) From there he hastened home with better hopes for the future. The news of the king's death raised

- (1) Sandilands' Instructions are in Teulet, Relations Politiques, II, 147, ff, and in Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 884. They were, chiefly, to offer the treaty of Edinburgh for ratification, to ask for the sovereigns' nomination of eight councillors of State out of a list of twenty-four; to promise a speedy report of the proceedings of parliament. There is no doubt that Sandilands had been briefed by Cecil and was working with Throckmorton. (C.S.P.For., 1560-61, nos. 651, 716)
- (2) Throckmorton's account of the Guises' reception of Sandilands bears out Buchanan's. (C.S.P.For., 1560-61, nos. 712, 716, 737.)
- (3) 'Of a rotten ear' according to Knox. (Knox, I, 347.) It is thought that Francis died of a cerebral abscess caused by a suppurating inflammation of the ear. (Potiquet, La maladie et la mort de François II.)
- (4) The text reads: 'nuntius autem eum de morte Regis Lutetiae ad Nonas Decembres deprehendit.' Ruddiman's emendation, 'nuntius autem de morte Regis ad Nonas Decembres, eum Lutetiae deprehendit' is the only reasonable reading. (Ruddiman, I, 588.)

the spirits of the Scots, who had been tense with the worry of imminent danger, as much as it filled all France with factions and the poison of internal dissension. James, the Queen's brother, now that Scotland was completely free from the domination of the French through the death of the king, hastened as fast as he could to the Queen, (1) who on the loss of her husband had withdrawn with her uncles to Lorraine; either seeking privacy for her grief, or that she might, in womanish jealousy, be far away from her mother-in-law, whom the indolence of Antony Bourbon, King of Navarre, was gradually allowing to usurp the administration of the whole kingdom. (2) There her brother James met her, (3) a temporary arrangement of affairs having been made in Scotland; and after many speeches on one side and the other had been made, the Queen revealed that she was in mind to return to Scotland, and fixed a day on which she was to be expected. (4)

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- (1) The lord James displayed no great haste in going to the Queen. The news of the king's death reached Scotland early in January. (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, 959.) James did not leave for France until 18 March. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 24; Leslie, 294) En route he spent some time with Elizabeth, to make her 'participant' with his plans. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 967)
- (2) That Mary went to Lorraine to avoid Catherine is suggested by Melville. (Memoirs, 88)
- (3) On 15 April, 1561. (Leslie, 294)
- (4) Throckmorton gives an account of the interview. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 151) That Mary fixed the day of her return is confirmed by her letter to Maitland some time later. (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 991) Buchanan is the only contemporary historian to notice this.

It was known that her uncles were also much inclined to this step, for before James's arrival there had been great debate on this subject. Many had urged the difficulty of the journey, especially as the Queen of England was not friendly enough. Then she would have to entrust herself to a wild people, rebellious by nature, such as do not submissively obey the rule even of men. She had before her eyes the recent examples of her father and her mother, whom when they did not dare or were not able to subdue openly, they reduced to despair by various artifices. Such were the men among whom she would go, in constant danger of her honour, if not of her life. The more experienced in Scots affairs argued against this. Rebellions there spring less from the people than from the rulers, when they try to reduce a kingdom which from earliest times had always been ruled by law to an absolute and lawless despotism, such as a race more warlike than wealthy could not endure. But all their kings who did not attempt to infringe the rights of the people had reigned not only secure from enemies and popular tumults, but in the greatest affection of their subjects, unvanquished by foes and renowned abroad. The most effective and indeed the only method of settling affairs at present was to attempt no change in the established form of religion. (1)

(1) According to Melville, this was the advice given to Mary by the Frenchmen who had newly returned from Scotland. (Memoirs, 88, 89)

These were the reasons publicly discussed. But among her intimates other considerations were more powerful. Her uncles, who in the present disturbed state of affairs in France cherished great rather than honest hopes, considered that the Queen would be more in their power if she were absent, than if she remained in France: they would secure the friendship and enjoy the services of many neighbouring princes, if they could offer them the prospect of marriage with her. (1) Meanwhile affairs in Scotland would be administered by someone of their own faction. With these plans the wishes of the Queen coincided, as she had wholly determined to return to her own people; for her husband was removed from earthly affairs, her mother-in-law, who managed the government, was estranged, and she saw that in future she would be of less importance at court. Though she had not long been accustomed to sovereignty, a woman in the flower of youth and of high spirits could not take well to being reduced to mediocrity. She preferred uncertain fortune combined with royal dignity to wealth without power. She realised, moreover, that her position would not become more honourable, as the power of the Guises had tottered at the first onslaught of the

(1) For account of the Guises' diplomacy with regard to Mary see J.H. Pollen, Papal Negotiations with Mary, Queen of Scots, and R. de Bouille, Histoire des Ducs de Guise.

had been delayed until Noailles's message could be sent. (C.S.P. For., 1560-61, no. 1034) No answer was made at that time. (C.S.P. For., 1561-62, no. 29) The council replied on 1 Jan., after parliament had met. (1561, no. 1034)

opposing party. Her intention was strongly reinforced by the persuasions of her brother James, and his assurance that she would find everything tranquil at home; especially as he was the one in whom she could put the utmost faith, being her natural brother, who from youth had managed great affairs with courage and success, and who had attained glory and authority in the eyes of all men. (1)

While the Queen was thus engaged, Noaille, senator of Bordeaux, who had been sent from France, arrived in Scotland after the end of the public convention. (2) His business was postponed till the next parliament, which had been appointed for 21 May, for the regulation of public affairs. (3) But the nobles did not take their seats then, though many of them had assembled on the day, because the Queen's will was

- (1) Throckmorton was convinced that the persuasions of the lord James had influenced Mary in her intention to return. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 337)
- (2) By 'publicus conventus' Buchanan consistently means 'parliament.' Here, however, he is following Knox, who gives an account of a 'special convention of the whole nobility' held in January, 1561. (Knox, I, 351) Buchanan has confused this 'special convention' with the official parliament of the previous August. Noailles actually arrived before the end of the unofficial meeting, which broke up in March.
- (3) Parliament was fixed for 20 May. (Diurnal, 64) Noaille's business was not postponed. He arrived on 11 March, and made his 'harangue' to the lords on 12 March. (ibid; Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 970) The lord James's departure had been delayed until Noaille's message could be heard. (C.S.P.For., 1560-61, no. 1034) No answer was made at that time. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 29) The council replied on 1 June, after parliament had met. (ibid, no. 220)

not yet known. Meanwhile James Stuart had returned from France, bringing them a commission from the Queen for holding parliament, and making what laws might be of service to the public weal. (1) Only then was the French envoy heard. These were the heads of his message (2) : that the old alliance with France be renewed; the new one with England dissolved; that the priests who had been displaced be restored and their goods returned. (3) To these demands it was replied: that as for the French alliance, they were not conscious of having violated it in any respect; on the contrary it had been many times neglected by the French; especially quite recently, by attacking their civil liberties, and attempting to reduce to wretched slavery a people formerly friendly, guilty of no known crime. The alliance

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- (1) A commission for holding parliament had been brought over as early as 12 January by special representatives of the Queen. (Labanoff, I, 85)
- (2) Noaille's Instructions are in Teulet, Relations Politiques, II, 159 ff. He made no demands concerning the Anglo-Scots alliance or the restoration of the priests. In stating this Buchanan follows Knox. (Knox, I, 356)
- (3) In actuality, there had been little displacing of priests, and certainly none by the government. (See The Accounts of the Collectors of the Thirds of Benefices (ed. Gordon Donaldson, Scottish History Society, 1949))

with England they could not dissolve, unless they were prepared to be accounted ungrateful wretches, who would repay the greatest benefits with grievous wrong, and to plot against the safety of their own preservers. Above all, in regard to his demand for the restitution of the priests - those whom he called priests - they recognised neither the order nor their function in the church. (1)

In the same parliament order was taken for demolishing all the monasteries, and persons were sent into all districts to carry out the enactments. (2)

In France, everything apparently being ready for the Queen's departure, her intimate friends, those most in her counsels, advised her that for the present she should entirely dissimulate in matters of religion; though there were some whose headstrong counsels urged her towards slaughter. Foremost among these were Dury, abbot of Dunfermline, and John Sinclair, recently designated bishop of Brechin. (3)

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- (1) The Scots' reply is in C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 220. Buchanan has taken this 'reply' from Knox. (Knox, I, 363)
- (2) This is from Knox. The Act, if made at all, was made by the Privy Council, not the parliament. (Knox, I, 364)
- (3) George Dury, abbot of Dunfermline, is said by Knox to have urged the renewal of the war in 1560. (Knox, II, 347) John Sinclair, fourth son of Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin, was not officially appointed to the see of Brechin until 1565, though he may have been nominated earlier. In the papal process he was said to be 'expugnator acerrimus heresium.' (Pollen, Pap. Neg., 512-516) Knox regarded him also as a leading enemy to the reformation. (Knox, II, 81 etc.)

To this advice she was inclined both by nature and by the persuasions of her relatives; so much so, that threats sometimes involuntarily escaped her, which were overheard at court and carried among the people. She even boasted openly among her attendants that she would follow the example of her relative Mary of England. Thus the whole of her determination tended to encourage those of her own faction at this time, and gradually to depress the adherents of the opposing creed; then when her power had been established she would reveal her own intentions. This did not seem very difficult, as the council of Trent had not long begun to meet, under the pretence, certainly, of restoring the degenerate morals of the church, but really to plan the extermination of the professors of the gospel, as was afterwards declared by the decrees of the more secret council. (1) To all this the Queen's uncles strongly urged her, by pointing out the strength of the papal faction, of whom Francis, the eldest of the Guise brothers, was to be the leader, by order of the council. Meanwhile the Cardinal Charles, who amid so many public cares was not forgetful of himself, advised the Queen that until she knew the ultimate result of her journey she should entrust to him her furniture and her magnificent

(1) The Council of Trent was called by Pope Paul III in 1545. It was dissolved in 1552, and did not meet again until 18 January, 1562. (For a definitive account of the work of the Council, see Concilium Tridentinum etc. (ed. Societas Goerresiana) 1901 ff.)

wardrobe, as if she were about to pass to another world. She, who easily understood his real motive, and knew well the nature of the man, replied that when she committed herself to danger, she knew no reason why she should take greater care of her valuables than of her person.

When these things had thus been settled, D'Oysel was sent to England to ascertain the intentions of the Queen. (1) He was honourable received by Elizabeth, and at once sent back to the Queen of Scots with this message: that if she chose to travel through England, she would lack no attention that she was entitled to expect from relatives or friends. (2) Elizabeth would consider the visit a great blessing; but she would consider the refusal of a personal meeting an affront. Besides this the Queen of England had equipped a large fleet, ostensibly for pursuing pirates. (3) Some supposed this was to intercept the Queen of Scots, if she should try to cross in opposition to Elizabeth's will: but they did capture and

- (1) D'Oysel was sent to Elizabeth at the end of June, 1561, to request a safe-conduct for Mary to pass through England, if necessary; he also asked a safe-conduct for himself to pass to Scotland. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, nos. 265, 280, 298)
- (2) This is far from the truth. Elizabeth peremptorily ordered D'Oysel to return to France with the message that only if Mary ratified the treaty of Edinburgh would she grant her requests; if she did so, Elizabeth would be most glad to see her in England. (ibid, no. 303)
- (3) It is certain that Elizabeth was anxious to hinder Mary's return. Her letters of 1 July, 1561, to Randolph, Chatelherault and Moray reveal her efforts to this end. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 284, etc.)

(2) Mary reached Scotland on 15 August, 1561. (ibid, nos. 1, 7; Ritson, II, 172-173)

(3) The nobility and estates were anxious to have Mary in Edinburgh on 21 August, 1561. (ibid, nos. 1, 7; Ritson, II, 172-173)

forcibly conduct to London one ship, in which the earl of Eglinton was sailing, and released it soon after. Whatever the reason for preparing the fleet, good fortune prevented any danger intended. (1) For after the French ships had put to sea, a fog came down and lasted for several days, until on 21 August they reached the shores of Scotland. (2)

When the news of the Queen's arrival had been spread abroad, the nobility gathered from every corner of the kingdom, partly for the public ceremonies, partly to offer their congratulations on her return. (3) Some too came to remind her of their services during her absence, and make sure of her gratitude without delay, or to forestall the calumnies of their enemies. Not a few had come to take stock of the prospects at the beginning of a new regime. In spite of these widely varying motives, all were equally desirous of seeing their Queen, bestowed so unexpectedly upon them after so many vicissitudes of fortune.

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- (1) It is not unlikely that the English government were carrying out Throckmorton's advice that they should 'make a show of warlike preparations' to show their attitude to Mary's return. (*ibid.*, no. 337) Certainly the coincidence is too striking to be missed, especially as Cecil hinted to Sussex that the fleet 'would be sorry to see her pass.' (*Wright*, I, 69) Those who accompanied Mary were convinced that the English ships were hostile. (*Leslie*, 297; *Jebb*, II, 455) This was denied by Elizabeth. (*C.S.P.For.*, 1561-62, no. 404) It has been suggested, with some force, that Elizabeth aimed at diverting Mary towards the west of Scotland where she would fall into the hands of the Hamiltons, who were closely allied to English policy at this time. (*R.K.Hannay*, *Scot. Hist. Review*, XVIII, No.72, 258)
- (2) Mary reached Scotland on 19 August, 1561. (*Diurnal*, 66; *Knox*, I, 7; *Pitscottie*, II, 172, etc.)
- (3) The nobility and estates were summoned to convene in Edinburgh on 31 August, 1561. But few were there to welcome the Queen. (*C.S.P.For.*, 1561-62, nos. 387, 455)

Born amid the bitter storms of war, she lost her father within six days. (1) She was taught diligently, indeed, by her mother, an accomplished lady, but she was abandoned amid domestic rebellions and foreign wars, a prey to the strongest, and exposed to all the dangers of outrageous fortune, (2) before she was of age to understand her evil case. She left her native land as if cast into exile, saved with great difficulty from the arms of enemies and the fury of the sea. There, it is true, fortune smiled upon her for a little time: she was exalted by an illustrious marriage. But it was an illusory rather than a real happiness, for by the death of her mother and her husband she was again thrown into sorrow and bereavement, her new throne lost, and her ancient one far from secure. But apart from the fascination of her varied and perilous history, she was graced with surpassing loveliness of form, the vigour of maturing youth, and fine qualities of mind, which a court education had increased, or at least made more attractive by a surface gloss of virtue. This, far from

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- (1) The text reads 'patre intra sextum quam nata erat diem' (Man, 493) Ruddiman needlessly emends this: 'patre intra octavum quam nata erat diem.' (Ruddiman, I, 450)
- (2) The text reads: fortunae saevientis periculis. One wonders whether Shakespeare's 'slings and arrows of outrageous fortune' derived from a memory of Buchanan! 'Outrageous fortune' is an exact translation and it occurred also to the unknown translator of the MS edition of 1659.

(3) The proclamation to this effect is in the Reg. Privy Council, I, 266-267.

being genuine, was a mere shadowy representation of virtue; so that her natural goodness would be weakened by an earnest desire to please; and the seeds of virtue, wizened by the allurements of luxury, would be prevented from reaching ripeness and fruition. That which pleased the common people did not, however, deceive the more discerning; but they thought that as she was yet of a tender and pliant age, she might easily be reformed by experience.

Amid the rejoicings there occurred a vexation which, though slight, deeply impressed the minds of both factions. The Queen had agreed with the nobility that no change should be made in the established form of religion, except that she and her own household should be permitted to hold the mass, and that to be private. (1) While the equipment for the mass was being carried through the court to the chapel, someone of the crowd which had collected seized and broke the candles, and had it not been for the intervention of some of the more moderate, all the rest of the equipment would have been scattered. This incident was variously received by the common people, some blaming the outrage as too bold, others deeming it an effort to try how much the patience of men could bear. Some considered, and even cried out, that the priest should suffer the penalty laid down in the scriptures against idolators. But this disturbance was quelled at its very onset by James, the Queen's brother -

(1) The proclamation to this effect is in the Reg. Privy Council, I, 266-267.

to the strong but secret vexation of George Gordon. (1)

For he, who was eager for public commotions at every opportunity, thought this was his opportunity to obtain favour. Meeting the Queen's uncles (who were there at the time) he promised that he would restore the old faith to the region beyond Dunkeld. (2) They mistrusted the scheme, as they had heard much concerning the man's nature from other sources, and fearing they would raise a new storm without appreciable result, they reported the plan to James, the Queen's brother. (3)

The rest of that year was spent in honourably sending away the French who had ceremoniously accompanied the Queen; (4) and in sports and entertainments. One of the uncles, the Marquis d'Elboeuf, remained. During this period, William

- (1) George Gordon, 4th earl of Huntly. Buchanan has taken this story from Knox. (Knox, II, 8) It is doubtful whether there is any substance in it. No mention is made of a disturbance by the Diurnal, Pitscottie, or Randolph, though all mention the mass, and the annoyance it caused. (Diurnal, 66; Pitscottie, 172; C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 455) According to Randolph, most of the protestant lords were listening to Knox's sermon while the Queen's mass was being celebrated.
- (2) That Huntly boasted of his power to restore the mass is well authenticated. (C.S.P.Spanish, 1558-1567, nos. 139, 143, 147) But there is no evidence that he communicated his plan to the Guises.
- (3) 24 September, 1561, Randolph reported that the Lord James and Huntly were 'greatly discorded' because Huntly had said that 'if the Queen commanded him he would set up the mass in three shires.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1023)
- (4) The three uncles who had accompanied the Queen were Claude, duc d'Aumale, René, Marquis d'Elboeuf, and François de Lorraine, the Grand Prior. (Pitscottie, II, 172) Their departure, in October, 1561, is described by Randolph. (Stevenson's Selections, 93; Wright, I, 75)

Maitland, younger, was sent as envoy to England, to present formal greeting to the Queen of that country, as is the custom; he reported Mary's regard for Elizabeth, and her great desire for peace and the maintenance of amity. (1) He presented her with letters from the Scots nobility. (2) These were full of goodwill, and contained acknowledgement of their gratitude for past benefits. But they chiefly desired the English Queen: that she might use their sovereign in all things concerning herself or her state so gently and favourably, that she might by these good offices not only fully persevere in the friendship that had begun, but strengthen it by closer bonds, if that were possible; and they, for their part, would lose no opportunity of showing their zeal for continuing the friendship between the neighbouring realms. There was only one certain means whereby all their longstanding differences might be forgotten, and the source of discord for the future be taken away: if the English Queen would declare by an official decree of her whole nation, confirming this by her own authority, that

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- (1) Maitland went to England early in September, 1561. (Keith, II, 80; C.S.P. Spanish, 1558-1567, no. 139) The Queen's letter of credit and Maitland's Instructions are in Labanoff, I, 103, ff.
- (2) The letter from the Scots nobility is in Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1011. The nobility's Instructions to Maitland are in Keith, II, 73. Buchanan's account of the embassy is an accurate, but slightly condensed, translation into Latin of Maitland's own Report (printed Pollen, Queen Mary's Letter to Guise, App.1.) In re-translating from Buchanan, I have had recourse to the language of the original report.

then to make their first salutation to her. Before all next to herself and her children, if she should bear any, things, she had to reduce the state of religion to some the lawful heir to the English crown was the Queen of Scots. settled form; how difficult and vexatious that was, she The ambassador propounded by many arguments how such an act herself knew. 'For these reasons your Majesty must perceive would be just and of advantage to the whole of Britain. He added that no one ought to be more diligent and zealous in that the Queen of Scots had no time to spare before my departure. There had not yet assembled men qualified to accomplishing this than herself, as she was Mary's next kins- be called into council on a matter of such importance, woman; and the Scots Queen expected such a declaration of especially as such persons as lived in the northernmost parts her kindness and good office.

To this the English Queen replied, 'I looked for another message from your Queen. I marvel that she remembers whose opinions were both due and necessary in so grave a purpose.' Elizabeth then spoke with some warmth. 'What not what she promised, only after long importuning, before consultation needed your Queen to fulfill that whereunto she her departing from France, concerning the ratification of the was bound both by her handwriting and by her seal.' 'Madame,' said he, 'I have no answer to that at present. It definite reply as soon as she should return to her own people. is a matter on which I have received no instructions, nor did I have long enough been fed with words. If she had had any our Queen expect that a statement would now be demanded of me. sense of her own dignity, it were high time her deeds matched but you yourself will easily judge what just cause of delay her fair words.'

To this he answered that he had been despatched by the Queen on this mission only a few days after her arrival, (1) Queen returned to the principal matter of the whole mission, before she had entered into the management of any public affairs. 'I have particularly noted,' she said, 'what you have said to me in the name of your Queen, and urged in the proposition nobles, most of whom she had not met before, and who came made in name of the nobility: that she is of the blood of ...'

(1) Maitland's Report reads 'nocht fully XV days.'

as my next kinswoman - that I will not and cannot deny. I have demonstrated to all the world that in all my proceedings I never attempted anything against either her

then to make their first salutation to her. Before all things, she had to reduce the state of religion to some settled form; how difficult and vexatious that was, she herself knew. 'For these reasons your Majesty must perceive that the Queen of Scots had no time to spare before my departure. There had not yet assembled men qualified to be called into council on a matter of such importance, especially as such persons as lived in the northernmost parts of the kingdom had not arrived at court before my departure, whose opinions were both due and necessary in so grave a purpose.' Elizabeth then spoke with some warmth. 'What consultation needed your Queen to fulfill that whereunto she was bound both by her handwriting and by her seal?' 'Madame,' said he, 'I have no answer to that at present. It is a matter on which I have received no instructions, nor did our Queen expect that a statement would now be demanded of me. But you yourself will easily judge what just cause of delay she has at this time.'

After some words passed to and fro to this effect, the Queen returned to the principal matter of the whole mission. 'I have particularly noted,' she said, 'what you have said to me in the name of your Queen, and urged in the proposition made in name of the nobility: that she is of the blood of England, and that nature bids me hold affection towards her as my next kinswoman - that I will not and cannot deny. I have demonstrated to all the world that in all my proceedings I never attempted anything against either her

person nor the peace of her realm. They who most know my feelings and my mind are fully aware that in time of most offence, when she, by usurping my arms and claiming the title of my crown, had given me just cause to be angry with her, yet could I never find it in my heart but to impute the springs of enmity to others rather than her. At any rate I trust that she will not seize my sceptre while I live, nor make impediment to the succession of my children, if any be born to me. If, meanwhile, anything should happen to me, she will not find that I have done anything to hurt or impair in the slightest whatever right she may claim to the English crown. What that right is I have not considered it necessary to estimate very carefully. I am not inclined to inquire too deeply into that matter: I leave it to those who are concerned to have it settled by legal authority. If your Queen's claim be just, she may certainly expect from me that I shall do nothing to hurt it, and God bear me witness, I know no one next to myself, that I would prefer before her, or that could possibly exclude her, if the matter were disputed. You know who are the pretenders. With what resources or relying on what force could these wretches attempt so great an enterprise? Then after a short digression on these persons, she remarked in conclusion that the matter was serious and weighty, and was now being formally discussed for the first time. It was necessary that she should have longer time to consider it. Then after a few days she sent for the envoy again and said: 'I marvel that the nobility should send me such a message

immediately upon the homecoming of their Queen, especially as they know that the previous offence against us is not yet taken away. What do they ask? - that I, who am so injured and offended without any reparation, should gratify them with so high a benefit. This is tantamount to a threat! If they persist in it, I would have them reflect on this, that I shall be found lacking no more than they, either puissance at home or in friends abroad to defend my right.'

'Madam,' said he, 'I have from the beginning sufficiently declared that the nobles have thus opened up the question of such an agreement between our nations, partly because they are bound to procure the honour, surety and advancement of their own sovereign; partly because they are eager to maintain the peace, and consolidate our friendship. With you they dare be bolder than with any other prince, not only because they have experienced your exceeding goodwill towards them, but also because they understand that their own surety, their lives and all their fortunes must be hazarded, if such a quarrel should be prosecuted, or if any conflict occurred between the two realms because of this. Whereupon they do not consider themselves guilty of any wrongful wish because they desire that the seeds of discord be thrown aside, and the matter be made amicable in good surety.'

'If,' said she, 'I had ever attempted anything to hurt your Queen's right, then there might be just occasion to require that such wrong may be corrected. But this desire is without example, that in my own life I should set my windingsheet before

my eyes; the like was never required of any prince. Yet I take it in good part that your nobles should ask this: I commend them, that they honour their Queen and are zealous for her advancement. Not less do I allow their wisdom, in seeking their own surety and wishing to spare the spilling of Christian blood, which I confess could not be avoided, if any other party should arise to claim her title. But what other claimant can there be - on what strength could he rely? However, leaving that side, suppose I were myself minded to do what they require. Do you think I would do it upon a motion made by the lords and not by the Queen? There are, besides, many other considerations to draw me back from this proposal. First, I am aware how dangerous it is to 'play with fire,' (1) and it has always seemed better to me to abstain from calling in question the title of the crown. For there have already been so many disputes touching the lawfulness of marriages, bastards and legitimate children, (2) while each favoured or disliked this party or the next, that because of these controversies I have myself hitherto delayed entering in marriage. Once, when I publicly received the Crown, I was wedded to this realm, in

(1) Maitland's Report reads 'periculosum est tangere picem ne forte inquiner ab ea.' Buchanan renders thus: 'periculosum hanc movere Camarinam' (Man, 496) Aikman translates, 'dangerous to touch this string' (Aikman, II, 443)

(2) Is this a reference to Elizabeth's own position? The English Queen had good reason to avoid questions of legitimacy.

token whereof I continually wear this ring. Howsoever it be, so long as I live, I shall be Queen of England. When I am dead, let him succeed who has best right. If that be your Queen, I shall do nothing meanwhile to hinder her. If any other have better right, it were unreasonable to require me that I should openly injure him. If there be any law against her, I know it not, for I am not willing to inquire too curiously into the matter. But if any be, I swore to my subjects when I came to the throne, that I would not alter their laws. For your second point, that such a declaration of the succession would make for closer friendship between us, I fear it would rather sow the seeds of strife. Do you believe that I would willingly have my windingsheet ever before my eyes? Princes often bear ill will towards their own children who are to succeed them by right. King Charles VII of France, how regarded he his son Louis XI? Or he again Charles VIII? How did Francis lately feel towards Henry? How then shall I regard my cousin, once she is declared my heir apparent? As Charles VII did Louis XI in all likelihood. But this next consideration is to me the weightiest of all:

I know the inconstancy of this people. I know how they ever weary of a present régime. I know how they fix their eyes on whoever is next in succession. I am aware that nature has so disposed that, as the saying goes, 'More men worship the rising than the setting sun.' (1) Of that, to

(1) The Report renders this in Latin.

pass over other instances, I have learned from my own times. When my sister Mary reigned, how desirous many were to see me seated on her throne; how anxious they were to advance my interest. And I know what risks men would have run to accomplish their plan, if my will had agreed with their desires. And now perhaps the same people are not of the same mind towards me: as boys rejoice over apples given them in dreams, but when they awake in the morning and are disappointed, joy turns to tears. (1) So it was with me. When I was the Lady Elizabeth they bore me the greatest goodwill. And whenever I showed a good visage towards any of them, he would imagine within himself that immediately after my coming to the throne, he would be rewarded according to his own fantasy, rather than the services he had done me. Now when the event answers not their expectation, certain of them would not object to another change in the hope of better fortune. No prince's revenues are so great that they can fulfill the insatiable desires of men. But if the affection of our subjects should weaken towards us, and their intentions should change, because I have set a limit to the extravagant

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- (1) This sentence does not occur in the Scottish copies of Maitland's Report, but only in the English copies. thus Buchanan must have used the English MSS, in Tractatus et Literae Regum Scotiae, 1448-1571. (B.M. Royal MSS, 18, B.V1)

bestowing of largesse, or for any other trivial reason, what can I expect in the future if those of my subjects who are ill-disposed had a definite successor to the crown to whom they would have recourse at any discontentment and go to with every resentment? You may judge how much danger would threaten me, with so puissant and so near a princess as my successor. As much as I increased her strength by assuring her of the succession, so much would I detract from my own security. This danger cannot be avoided by any amount of caution or legal restraint. It is not easy for any prince, to whom the hope of a crown is offered, to contain himself within the bounds of law and equity. I, certainly, would never consider my state secure, once my successor were publicly declared.

That in the main was what was said at that meeting. A few days after, the envoy asked the Queen whether she would make any answer to the nobles' letters. 'I have no answer at present,' she said, 'but that I allow their duty and devotion toward their Queen. The matter is so great that I cannot immediately return a plain answer. When your Queen has done her duty in ratifying the treaty, as she has bound herself, then will be the time for her to test my good will. Meanwhile, in my opinion, I cannot without lessening my honour gratify her in anything.' The ambassador denied that he had any instructions on that matter, or that he had ever spoken with his Queen about it. He was now advancing, not his sovereign's but his own opinion about the right of succession, and his arguments for its confirmation. As

to the approbation of the treaty, it was forced from the Queen of Scots by her husband, without the consent of those whom it chiefly concerned to confirm or annul it. (1) It was not so great a matter that because of it she and all her descendants should be excluded from their heritage of the crown. 'I do not now inquire,' he said, 'by whom, when, how, for what reason, or by what authority the treaty was made, as I have no commission to discuss any of these things at present. This, however, I dare declare, that even if, bound by the will of her husband, she had confirmed the treaty, yet now that such great issues hang upon it, at the proper time our Queen would submit good reasons why it could and should be dissolved. I do not say this in the name of the Queen. My words are intended only to show that the noble men have reason to labour that all controversies should be dissolved and a firm and lasting peace be set up between us.'

At last, after many arguments on either side respecting the treaty, the Queen was persuaded to agree that commissioners from both sides should meet to revise it. (2)

(1) Buchanan has misread the Report. Of course Mary was not forced by her husband to ratify the Treaty, as Maitland seems here to imply. In the Report, Maitland admits that since the negotiations were entered upon with the consent of Francis, Mary might have been obliged to ratify the Treaty, but he asserts that she was entitled not to do so, 'it being sa prejudiciall to her estait.'
(Pollen, op. cit., 44)

(2) The nomination of commissioners was postponed. (Pollen, Queen Mary's Letter to Guise, 45) On 17 September, 1561, Elizabeth commissioned Sir Peter Mewtas to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh from Mary.
(C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 506)

They were to correct it according to this form: the Queen of Scots would desist from using the arms of England. She would abstain from using the titles of England and Ireland as long as the English Queen or her children survived. On the other hand, the English Queen would undertake that neither she nor any children she might have would do anything to prejudice the Queen of Scots, or injure her title to the succession. (1)

This was practically all that was discussed in this embassy. But while these negotiations to establish peace were going on abroad, signs of trouble began to appear at home. As I said before, special mass had been granted only to the Queen and her household. When the proclamation concerning this was published, (2) only one out of the whole nobility, the earl of Arran, was found to oppose it, to the great but secret fury of the Queen. (3) The next offence was against the citizens of Edinburgh. They usually elected their magistrates on 29 September. Then Archibald Douglas, the provost, proclaimed, according to custom, that no adulterar, fornicator, drunkard, massmonger, or obstinate

(1) These terms were suggested by Elizabeth, but never accepted.

(2) On 25 August, 1561. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 266)

(3) This follows Knox, who says also that the Queen was 'exasperated' by Arran's protest. (Knox, II, 9-11)

(3) 'Upon All Hallows Day the Queen had a song mass,' reported Randolph, 11 November, 1561. (Keith, II, 109) See also Knox's account. (Knox, II, 23)

papist should be found in the city after the 1 October, and heavy penalties were threatened against those who persisted in remaining. (1) When this was reported to the Queen, she at once had the magistrates committed to prison without trial, and commanded the citizens to elect new magistrates. (2) She then proclaimed that the city should be open to all loyal subjects. There was some ridicule and indignation at this, for the most wicked men were thus recognised to be her loyal servants.

When the Queen discovered the citizens' patience in this instance to be greater than she had expected, she began gradually to attempt more. On 1 November she added all the splendour of Popish pomp to the mass, which hitherto had been simple and restricted to ordinary ceremonial. (3) The ministers of the gospel strongly resented this, and in their public assemblies they bitterly denounced it and reminded the nobles of their duty. A few men held a debate in a private house, where they discussed whether they could repress the idolatry that was now spreading disastrously, and whether, when a chief magistrate allowed no limit to himself, they could forcibly confine him within the provisions of the law.

(1) The phraseology of this sentence strongly suggests that Buchanan copied this directly from Knox.
(See Knox, II, 21-22)

(2) The Queen's command is in Edinburgh Burgh Records, III, 125.

(3) 'Upon All Hallows Day the Queen had a song mass,' reported Randolph, 11 November, 1561. (Keith, II, 109) See also Knox's account. (Knox, II, 23)

The nobles, either to gain favour or in hope of honour and reward, were less firm, and as they were superior in rank and number, the decision went in accordance to their will. (1)

Meanwhile the court, indulging in every luxury and sinful pleasure, could hardly be stirred from its torpor by the robbers from the English border. (2) These looted the neighbouring countryside as if in licensed brigandage, and nothing escaped the taint of blood and slaughter. James, the Queen's brother, was sent at length with a commission of lieutenantancy to suppress them: not so much, as many thought, that he might win new distinctions, as that he might be exposed to danger. (3) For his power was resented by the Queen. Even more did she resent his integrity, which shamed her own wickedness, and retarded her progress toward tyranny. But God blessed his righteous endeavours beyond all expectation, and he hanged twenty-eight of the most savage robbers; of

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- (1) This is from Knox. The meeting was held in the house of the Clerk Register, Sir James MacGill. (Knox, II, 23-24)
- (2) It is untrue that Mary neglected Border affairs. As early as August, 1561, the government took steps to repress the thieves. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 455) In October Mary appointed the lord James to the task of repressing the thieves, and she asked the English to co-operate. (ibid, nos. 621, 622; Reg. Privy Council, I, 163)
- (3) The Justice-Ayre was to be in Jedburgh on 15 November, 1561. (ibid) The allegation that the lord James was appointed in the hope of his being killed is made by Knox: 'Some suspected that such honour and charge proceeded from the same heart and counsel that Saul made David captain against the Philistines.' (Knox, II, 24)
- (4) Captain James Stewart as their leader. (ibid, I, no. 1066) On 1 April, 1562, the number of the Archers was completed. (Maitland Miscellany, I, 27)

the rest, he subdued some by taking hostages, and others by the mere terror of his name. (1)

As a result of his absence, the Queen seemed to have gained some licence. For she was by no means satisfied with the present state of affairs, either with the religious controversies or with the government, which was administered with greater strictness than was tolerable to a young woman educated in the most corrupt of courts, who regarded as discreditable to royalty the moderation of lawful government, and considered the slavery of others her own freedom. Her frequent outbursts of impatience were overheard, and the foundations of tyranny were seen to be gradually laid. For while all former kings had entrusted their safety to the loyalty of their nobles, she determined to set up a body-guard. (2) But she could find no means of achieving this. She could claim no justification for her desire, except a foolish show of courtly magnificence, and the custom of foreign kings. Indeed, the probity of her brother's

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- (1) These figures are from Knox. (*ibid*) Randolph reported that the lord James 'hanged 22 or 23 and brought here (i.e. Edinburgh) forty or fifty - 23 of them in castle, 2 in Dunbar, 2 in the Inch, 3 in the north, and 2 like to be hanged here,' (*Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1049*) Several men were later prosecuted for not joining the expedition. (*Pitcairn, I, 421 ff*)
- (2) Soon after Mary's homecoming, a bodyguard for the Queen was proposed. (*Wright, I, 74*) Sometime after December, 1561, the guard was formed. (*Diurnal, 72*) In January, 1561/2 there were 12 halberdiers employed, and Mary intended to double the number, with Captain James Stewart as their leader. (*Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1058*) On 1 April, 1562, the number of the Archers was completed. (*Maitland Miscellany, I, 27*)

conduct caused her much uneasiness, because it afforded no ground for feigned suspicions or false accusations, and yet made it seem to her unlikely that he would long tolerate her licentious way of life. The people, too, seemed in such a frame of mind that they might look upon a bodyguard as no trivial sign of tyranny. The authors of this plot congratulated themselves.

So her restless spirit, determined to effect by any means what she had planned, devised the following scheme. (1) She had a brother called John, (2) who was greedy for power but of less austere character than James, who would easily bring himself to obey every whim of the Queen's, and who was therefore dearer to her and more easily matched to her determination to stop at nothing. To him, while James was absent, she communicated her plan for procuring a guard. This was the method she adopted: they had it proclaimed that there had been a disturbance in the night and that James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, had tried secretly to attack the Queen who had but a small guard, and carry her off to his castle, about fourteen miles distant. This story seemed plausible to them, on account of the Queen's rather cold attitude to the earl,

(1) The suggestion that Mary designed the 'fray' for the purpose of raising a guard comes from Knox: 'whether it proceeded of her own womanly fantasy, or if men put her in fear for displeasure of the earl of Arran, and for other purposes, as for the erecting of the guard, we know not.' (Knox, II, 24)

(2) Lord John Stuart of Coldingham.

to have been serious. (Ibid., no. 1053)
 Arran was seriously in
 custody of the Queen at this time. (Scott. Hist. Review,
 XVIII, no. 72, 258) The guards set on the gate were not
 mercenaries, but the lords then present at court.
 (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1049)

as well as his extravagant infatuation for her, neither of which were hidden to the public. This pre-arranged fracas was set in motion, and horsemen scoured the neighbourhood during the best part of the night. Next day, guards appeared at the palace gates, to the indignation of some and the amusement of others. The authors of this plot congratulated themselves, regardless of public opinion, since they were confident that no one present would openly challenge them. (1)

From this beginning the court plunged into pleasures and vice. Yet justice was still fairly administered and crimes punished, for the chief management of the government remained with James, the Queen's brother, who because of his courage and justness was dear to all. He employed as his chief counsellor William Maitland, a brilliant young man who had already shown clear evidence of his great abilities, and had raised the highest hopes of his future. By the honesty and wisdom of these men the greatest peace was maintained at home and abroad. This state of affairs, so desirable to the good citizens, was resented by the trouble-makers, since there were no grounds for complaining of it.

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- (1) Randolph described this incident in his letter to Cecil, 7 December, 1561. (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1049) He also is sceptical of its genuineness, on the grounds that Arran could not afford such an enterprise, and that the town was full of papists. Later, 2 January, 1561/2, he indicates that Arran may have had some such notion, though he could not believe it to have been serious. (ibid, no. 1058) But R.K.Hannay has argued that Arran was seriously in pursuit of the Queen at this time. (Scot. Hist. Review, XVIII, no. 72, 258) The guards set on the gate were not mercenaries, but the lords then present at court. (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1049)

Meanwhile a problem arose in the capital, which for three months occupied the attention of the whole court, In the past years the kings and regents had reduced the resources of the state (which had never been sufficient in Scotland) and nothing could satiate the Queen's desire for extravagant luxury. The estates of the nobles and the commons had been greatly impoverished during the recent troubles. Nothing remained from which the expenses of the court could be scraped, except the Church. The ecclesiastical princes were summoned to the court, and along with them some of the chief nobles, who might compel their obedience, either by persuasion or by intimidation. (1) At last, when the priests had yielded, after long debates, rather because they were aware of their weakness than because they were convinced by the arguments used, the matter was concluded, and a third part was deducted, from which the Queen would maintain the reformed ministers. The remainder (2) would be reserved for her own use. This arrangement suited

(1) A Convention of Estates was called on 15 December, 1561. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 192)

(2) i.e. of the Third.

(1) For a definitive account of the uplifting and disposing of the Thirds of Benefices, see The Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices (ed. Gordon Donaldson) Scottish History Society, 1949. Buchanan's summary is accurate.

(2) The text reads: 'magno cum bonorum omnium assensu.' (Man, 500) Aikman translates, 'with universal approbation,' which is hardly accurate. (Aikman, II, 462)

(3) The lord James was made earl of Mar on 7 February, 1562. (Diurnal, 70)

nobody. The wealthier priests were indignant that they should be deprived of any part of their old revenues. The ministers of the Evangel had no hopes of justice from the Queen. She herself, despite great apparent expectations, got very little out of it. For many of the former possessors had the third part of their incomes remitted to them; and from the same source many male and also female servants received wages, rewards for many years of unpaid service, and pensions for their old age. (1)

That winter the Queen, with the full approval of all good men, (2) created her brother James earl of Mar. (3) All praised this tribute to his integrity, and no one objected that favour had been shown to a relative. Many considered that the public weal had been consulted, in conferring the honour on an illustrious man who deserved so well of his country, that it might lend him greater authority in his state duties. There were, however, some who believed that the purpose of the Queen's generosity was to convince them that she sought to reconcile James, for they had no doubt of his displeasure at what had been going on at court in his absence. At the same time a wife was given him,

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(3) The lord James was made earl of Mar on 7 February, 1562. (Diurnal, 70)

Agnes Keith, daughter of the earl Marischal. At his marriage, the magnificence of the banquet - or rather the excessive luxury - bitterly offended his friends, and provided the envious with grounds for slander; all the more so, as he had always behaved soberly in the past. (1) Not long after, the earldom of Moray was given to him instead of that of Mar, which was found to belong by ancient right to John Erskine. (2) Gordon, deprived first of Mar and then of Moray, which country he had long dominated, considered himself spoiled, as it were, of his patrimony, and began to bend his whole attention to overthrowing his rival. Many other things incited him to this action. He was now by far the wealthiest man in Scotland, by his ancestors' many services to the Crown; and what power he had received from his ancestors, he daily increased by evil means. (3) First, he had cheated John Forbes by false witnesses, as already related. (4) Then, on the death of James Stuart, brother to

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- (1) Thus Knox: 'The greatness of the banquet, and the vanity used thereat, offended many godly.' (Knox, II, 32)
- (2) John Erskine became earl of Mar in 1565. (Scots Peerage, V, 612-15) The gift of the earldom of Moray to the Queen's half-brother is in the R.S.S., V, no. 966, dated 30 January, 1561/2.
- (3) For an account of Huntly's wealth, see Scots Peerage, IV, 532 ff, and Robertson's Inventories, XXII, ff.
- (4) Buchanan gives an account of the downfall of John, master of Forbes, in Book XIV of his History. (Aikman, II, 316) The trial is in Pitcairn, I, 183. There can be no doubt that Huntly engineered the ruin of Forbes.

James V, without children, he received the Stewardship of Moray from those who were then at the head of the government. (1) He behaved as if he were the inheritor, by which means he so increased his power that all his neighbours in that region abandoned emulation, and acquiesced in his authority, and practically submitted themselves to his sway.

While others submitted from fear of danger or a spirit of servility, the independence of one man infuriated Gordon, who chose to regard it as haughtiness. This was Mackintosh, chief of a great Highland clan. (2) Though born and reared among a people wild and predatory, either because of some latent instinct or because of the enjoyment of good teachers, he vied in courteousness, modesty and every accomplishment with those educated with the greatest care by parents and masters to cultivate virtue. (3) Gordon looked askance on the power of this young man, and when he found that he could not sway his righteous mind toward his own rascally ends, he seized him unawares and threw him into prison. But when he could find

(1) Huntly was given the management of the lands and earldom of Moray on 13 February, 1549. (Reg. Mag. Sig., 1546-1580, no. 299) Buchanan relates this in Book XVI of the History. (Aikman, II, 380) He had similarly been administering the estate of Mar, the lordship of which he obtained on 24 March, 1529/30. (Reg. Mag. Sig., 1513-46, no. 923)

(2) William Mackintosh, 15th captain of Clan Chattan.

(3) From 1530 to 1532 Mackintosh lived with the earl of Cassilis, a relation. (M.E. Mackintosh, Clan Mackintosh and Clan Chattan, 15 ff.) About the same time, Buchanan was tutor to Cassilis. (Hume Brown, George Buchanan, 80) Thus Buchanan's praise of Mackintosh's accomplishments seems to be an obscure compliment to himself!

no capital charge against him, he suborned his friends, as I have related before, to persuade him to submit himself and his cause to Gordon. (1) This, he was told, was his only means of getting out of prison with good grace, and gaining the friendship of so powerful a man. Thus by fraud the simple and unsuspecting young man was brought to his ruin. Yet, Gordon, even now shunning the blame for his death, persuaded his own wife to shoulder the responsibility. This the unfeeling woman readily undertook, and in the absence of her husband, she beheaded the wretched man, doomed though affirming his innocence. (2) His neighbours were aghast with fear at this vengeance, or won over by bribes: and the whole Highlands became subject to one man only. So that he, so greedy for renown and power, could not tolerate James, earl of Moray's being set up as his rival, and fretting at the present situation, determined to seize every opportunity for creating trouble. Constantly and openly he decried all his actions, and presented the Queen with a book, written in his own hand, accusing the earl - hotly but on trifling grounds - of attempting to establish a tyranny. (3)

(1) Buchanan relates this story in Book XVI of the History. (Aikman, II, 385)

(2) The evidence for this incident is obscure. In 1550 Mackintosh was tried and condemned for treason against the Queen's Lieutenant, who was Huntly himself. Mackintosh was executed, but it is not known whether this took place at Strathbogie or Gight. (Leslie, 235; M.E.Mackintosh, 17 ff)

(3) See Introduction, xcvi.

(2) The quarrel arose out of an incident in Edinburgh, December, 1561. The Marquis, along with Setwell and Lord John Stuart, molested Alison Craik, Arran's mistress. (Knox, II, 33; Keith, II, 123 ff)

At the same time, in another part of the country, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, was constrained by great debt and unbridled debauchery to lay snares for Moray. This man, having spent a licentious youth among harlots and taverns, was reduced to the necessity of either raising civil strife or entering upon some other bold villainy, to free himself from the danger of extreme want. He examined all the possibilities, and it seemed to him that the most useful way of beginning a disturbance of the peace would be to embroil Moray with the Hamiltons. There was a real advantage to be gained, he thought, in the possible destruction of the one or the other. He first approached Moray. He tried to persuade him to destroy the Hamilton family, as being dangerous to the Queen, the monarchy, and to himself personally. In this he offered his assistance. (1) The enterprise, he maintained, would be pleasing to the Queen, as she shared the common hatred of kings for their nearest kin, as if they were all intent upon high treason; and she had special and not unreasonable cause to hate the Hamiltons, both on account of their attachment to the evangelical religion, of which Arran was a leading professor, which had earned him the enmity even of the Guises in France, and on account of the quarrel Arran had had lately in Scotland with the Queen's uncle, the Marquis d'Elboeuf.

(2)

(1) I have found no other authority for this allegation.

(2) The quarrel arose out of an incident in Edinburgh, December, 1561. The Marquis, along with Bothwell and Lord John Stuart, molested Alison Craik, Arran's mistress. (Knox, II, 33; Keith, II, 128 ff)

But Moray, who was a man of integrity, was horrified at so foul and treacherous a proposal, so he turned to the Hamiltons. He offered them his assistance in the murder of Moray, whose power they resented. (1) Moray, he said, was the sole obstacle to their hopes and interests. Once he had been put down, the Queen would be in their power, whether she willed or not. (2) The plan appeared to be easy and uncomplicated. The Queen was then in Falkland, a castle with a village of the same name, set beside a little wood, in which were kept a species of broad-horned stag, commonly but mistakenly known as fallow deer. Since the Queen went there, or somewhere in the vicinity, almost every day, with an escort of her household, it would be easy to carry off Moray, who would be unarmed and off his guard, and so get the Queen into their power. The Hamiltons needed little

- (1) The officially accepted version of Bothwell's alleged plan, derived from Arran's testimony, is in the summons of treason laid against Bothwell in 1565. (Pitcairn, I, 462ff) According to this, Bothwell proposed to Arran: 'I knaw ye haif innemies in Court that stoppis yow of your desyre at the Quenis Majesties hand, quha will never cease quhill thai have destroyit you and your faderis House....quhenne hir Majestie is at the Hunting upone the fieldis....we sall cutt in pecis samony of hir counsalouris, servandis or utheris....and sall take hir self with us captive, and haif hir to the Castell of Dumbertane, and thair keip hir surelie....'
- (2) This repeats an allegation made by Buchanan in Ane Admonitioun to the Trew Lordis, 1571: 'the cause of his (Hamilton's) conspiracy with the earl of Bothwell to slay the earl of Moray in Falkland was no other but because that the said earl of Moray living they could neither do the said queen harm in her person nor diminish her authority nor constrain her to marry at their pleasure and to her utter displeasure.'
(Vernacular Writings, 30)

persuasion, and a time was fixed for carrying out the crime. (1)

Only the earl of Arran was horrified by the outrage, and secretly sent word of the whole affair to Moray. (2) Moray replied by the same messenger, but as Arran happened to be absent, the letter was delivered to his father. (3) Then a consultation was held, and Arran was made prisoner by his father. (4) But he escaped by night, and went towards Falkland. When his flight was discovered, horsemen were sent out in all directions to seize him and bring him back. But he eluded them, having gone into the wood. In the morning he was brought to Falkland and revealed every detail of the conspiracy. (5) Bothwell and Gavin Hamilton, who had undertaken the execution of the crime, followed him

- (1) The affair occurred in April, 1562. From Randolph's letters it is clear that the only evidence for the conspiracy derived from Arran, whose sanity was in doubt. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, nos. 971, 986) There is an account of the affair by R.K.Hannay, in Scot. Hist. Review, XVIII, nos. 72, 258)
- (2) Knox says that Arran first disclosed the 'conspiracy' to himself, and that it was he who informed the Queen and Moray. (Knox, II, 41)
- (3) According to Randolph, Moray wrote Arran to 'continue in his duty.' In one letter Randolph says that Arran himself told the Duke that he had informed; but in a later letter he says that the Duke intercepted a letter from the Queen to Arran. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, nos. 971, 986)
- (4) Both Knox and Randolph say that Arran was confined to his chamber. (Knox, II, 41; C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 971)
- (5) Arran went to the house of Kirkcaldy of Grange, whence he was summoned to court. (ibid)

to Falkland, and soon after they were put under guard and detained by order of the Queen. (1) The whole plot was revealed and the leaders convened at the place and time stated by Arran. Spies had reported that horsemen had appeared at many places. (2) Arran, when questioned about the details of the plot, became a little disturbed in his mind. He was deeply enamoured of the Queen, united in close ties of friendship with Moray, and he wanted to assist them. But he wished to remove suspicion from his father, a man of little malice, but too easily led into risky ventures. (3) Thus his mind, racked throughout that lonely night between love and filial affection, became so unbalanced that his distraction was evident both in his speech and his features. (4) There were other, earlier, causes of the young man's mental stress.

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- (1) According to Randolph, who was there, Bothwell and Hamilton preceded Arran to Falkland, and warned the Queen to pay no heed to Arran's allegations. (ibid) Gavin Hamilton was Commendator of Kilwinning, second son of the Duke.
- (2) This is probably an invention of Buchanan's. No other account mentions such occurrences. (see Knox, II, 41; C.S.P.For., 1561-62, nos. 971, 985, 1050; Diurnal, 71; Pitcottie, II, 174)
- (3) This repeats earlier expressions of Buchanan's opinion of the Duke, particularly in Ane Admonitioun. (Vernacular Writings, 28)
- (4) Knox says that 'his frenzy could not be hid.' (Knox, II, 42) Randolph says that Arran raved 'as of devils, witches and such like,' and confided to him that he was bewitched by Moray's mother. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 985) It is certain that Arran was more than 'a little' disturbed in his mind. He was kept in close confinement until May, 1566. (Knox, II, 42, n.3)

(5) Arran was examined before the Council three times. According to Knox, he consistently accused Bothwell, but cleared both the Hamiltons. (Knox, II, 42) According to Randolph, he cleared only his father. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 1050)

Up to that time, he had been educated liberally and had lived in a style suited to his family's wealth, but now his father, a somewhat niggardly man, had by counsel of some who encouraged this vice, reduced his son's large retinue to one servant. (1) Those who had undertaken to carry out the crime were put in different prisons, Bothwell in Edinburgh Castle, Gavin Hamilton in Stirling, till the affair could be investigated. (2) Arran was sent to St. Andrews, where the Queen was about to go, and appointment made to have him kept under close observation in the Archbishop's castle. (3) While he was there, he recovered his wits occasionally, and wrote the Queen so intelligently and carefully, about himself and others, that he was suspected of feigning madness to free his father from complicity in the murder. (4) He accused the others consistently and bitterly: and on several occasions, when he was brought before the Council, (5) since he could not

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- (1) See Randolph to Cecil, 7 December, 1561: 'The earl of Arran was never fewer in company, nor worse furnished....' (Keith, II, 116)
 - (2) Gavin Hamilton was released from ward at Stirling on 26 September, 1563. (Pitcairn, I, 436)
 - (3) Rather 'in terrorem quam ad poenam,' according to Randolph. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 985)
 - (4) According to Randolph there was no doubt about Arran's madness, though apparently in a lucid moment Arran himself claimed that it had been feigned. He even denied his allegations against his father and Bothwell, though later he wrote the Queen from St. Andrews reaffirming his accusation of Bothwell. (ibid, no. 1050)
 - (5) Arran was examined before the Council three times. According to Knox, he consistently accused Bothwell, but cleared both the Hamiltons. (Knox, II, 42) According to Randolph, he cleared only his father. (C.S.P.For., 1561-62, no. 1050)

confirm his testimony on so secret a crime by other witnesses, he offered to settle by armed combat with Bothwell. (1) About that time, James Hamilton, Arran's father, wrote the Queen, and then came himself to St. Andrews, and pleaded with her to accept sureties for his son, Bothwell, and Gavin Hamilton; but he could obtain nothing. (2) About the same time the Queen took back Dumbarton, by far the best-fortified castle in Scotland, which Hamilton had held since the time he was Regent. (3)

George Gordon, as we have seen, was an enemy of Moray, and was now much more hostile because Hamilton, his son's father-in-law, had been implicated in open crime, and almost ruined. (4) He thought now an opportunity had arisen for him to cut off his enemy with impunity, as two important families were now joined to his cause. (5) First he

(1) Randolph says that it was Bothwell who offered the armed combat, and Arran agreed if the Queen consented. (ibid)

(2) The Duke wrote the Queen on 12 April. (Pitscottie, II, 175) He arrived in St. Andrews on 19 April. (C.S.P. For., 1561-62, no. 1050) He appeared before the Council on 20 April. (ibid)

(3) According to Randolph, the Duke voluntarily gave up the castle. (ibid) It was handed over on 22 April, 1562. (Pitscottie, II, 175)

(4) Huntly's son, George Gordon, married Lady Anne Hamilton, daughter of the Duke.

(5) i.e. The Hamiltons and the Hepburns.

engineered a disturbance in the town, then thinly populated, hoping that Moray would come out from the court to quell the affair by his own authority. There he could easily be overcome in the confusion, being unarmed and unsuspecting. (1) When this did not succeed according to design, towards evening he ordered some of his armed men to come into the palace and carry out the deed by murdering Moray as he came home to his lodging from the Queen, who was in the habit of detaining him till late at night. That seemed the most suitable time both for perpetrating the deed and escaping after it had been done. Word of this was carried to Moray, but he would not believe it unless it was proved to his own eyes. So, in the company of a few of his most loyal friends, that he might seem to have no suspicion, he came across one or two of the Gordons, and searched them at the palace gates; and finding them armed, he arrested them. When this was told to the Queen, she sent for Gordon: he alleged that some of his men had armed themselves in

(1) This is a reference to the tumult of 27 June, 1562, when Huntly's son, Sir John Gordon, became involved in a street fight with Sir James Ogilvy of Cardell. (Edinburgh Burgh Records, III, 138-9) The cause of the quarrel is well known. (see Introduction, xcvi) There is no evidence that Huntly incited the tumult, though Knox also states that Huntly was plotting against Moray. (Knox, II, 37)

(Pittcottie, II, 177) Elizabeth's own explanation of her decision is in Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1126.

readiness for returning home, and were then for some reason he knew not, detained. This excuse was for the time accepted, though scarcely credited, and the matter was dropped.

That summer ambassadors were sent from both courts to negotiate a meeting between the Queens of Scotland and England, to be held at York. (1) Here they were to settle many differences between them. But when they were practically ready for the journey, the meeting was postponed. The reason commonly assigned for putting off the conference was that the duc d'Aumale, one of the Guise brothers, had opened the letters of the English ambassador then in France; and also that chiefly by his means the English ship carrying another ambassador had been plundered. On account of these and other injuries, it was believed, war between France and England was imminent. (2) The Queen,

- (1) Maitland left for England on 25 May, 1562. (Diurnal, 72; Labanoff, I, 137) The meeting was agreed upon on 6 July, but postponed six days later. (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1126)
- (2) A contretemps between the duc d'Aumale and the English had occurred, (C.S.P.For., 1562, nos. 236, 251) but that was not the reason given for the postponement of the interview. Knox correctly attributes the postponement to the threats to protestantism in France. (Knox, II, 46) Pitscottie mentions the fact that Elizabeth had sent 10,000 men to help the huguenots in La Rochelle. (Pitscottie, II, 177) Elizabeth's own explanation of her decision is in Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1126.

returning from St. Andrews to Edinburgh, sent Arran there, and committed him to the castle.

Meanwhile her brother James went to Hawick, a busy market town in those parts. He arrived without warning and surprised and executed fifty of the chief robbers who had convened there. (1) He struck such terror in the other districts round about that the whole area was made fairly quiet for the time. This service, though it earned him the affection and respect of good men, fired the malevolent with an increasing desire for his destruction. To the three powerful families bent upon his downfall was now added the support of the Guises. (2) They wanted to restore the old practices of the Roman Church, and thought that this could not be done as long as Moray lived; so they directed the whole force of their cunning towards removing him by any means. Many factors encouraged their hope of perpetrating the crime. In the first place, the Frenchmen who had accompanied the Queen spoke loudly, when they returned home,

(1) Moray's raid on Hawick occurred on 2 July. (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1121) Randolph says that Moray took 53 thieves, of whom only 28 were executed. (ibid, no. 1123) Buchanan's figure of fifty probably derives from his misreading of Knox, who says that Moray 'apprehended fifty thieves, of which number seventeen were drowned; others were executed in Jedburgh.' (Knox, II, 47)

(2) The three families of course were the Gordons, Hamiltons and Hepburns. Of these, only the Gordons were Roman Catholics.

about the great power of Gordon, his restless spirit, his promise to assist in restoring the mass: and in all this they exaggerated somewhat. The subject was much discussed among the papists of the French court, and at length the following means of achieving their object was determined. They wrote to the Queen, telling her to nourish Gordon's folly by promises. She was to arouse in his son John hopes of marrying her by hints rather than open promises: so that, blinded by this brilliant prospect, he might be driven where they would. (1) At the same time, they sent her the names of those whom they wanted out of the way along with Moray. The same purpose was urged in letters from the Pope and Cardinal. (2) For since the state revenues were insufficient to sustain the excessive luxury to which the Queen was accustomed, she solicited money from the Pope, ostensibly for a war against those who had deserted the Church of Rome. To this the Pope replied rather vaguely, but the Cardinal openly declared that money would not be

(1) There is a dubiously-founded tradition that John Gordon was in love with Mary.

(2) A Jesuit messenger, Father de Gouda, arrived in Scotland at the end of June, 1562. (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, nos. 1118, 1121) His chief mission was to report on Mary's situation. (Pollen, Pap. Neg. 115 ff) His visit raised much speculation in Scotland. (ibid; Cal. Scot. Papers, I, 1129)

(3) The reason for Mary's flight has been much controverted. See Introduction, p. 12.

(4) The Queen arrived at Aberdeen on 27 August. (MS Despatches de la Maison Royale, 1562)

(5) Knox says that the Countess of Huntly 'always bore fair countenance to the Queen' and that when they met Mary in Aberdeen, the earl and his wife were 'expected to have the greatest credit.' (Knox, II, 13)

wanting for such a war; only those must first be slain, whose names had been sent her. (1) The Queen showed these letters to Moray and others who had been marked for death - either because she believed they had learned their contents from some other source, or to convince them of her sincerity and her desire to have no secrets from them. (2)

Everything else being ready for the attempt, the Queen simulated a great desire to visit that part of her kingdom that lies to the North. (3) Gordon encouraged this desire by his liberal invitations. At length the Queen arrived at Aberdeen on the 13 August. (4) Gordon's wife, a woman with the passions and purposes of a man, used every device to probe the Queen's mind, partly to discover for certain her deepest and most secret thoughts, and partly so that she might bend her to her own will. (5) For she knew by what trivial

- (1) There is no evidence that Mary solicited money from the Pope at this time. But in 1566 she did so, and the papal nuncio, Laureo, suggested the elimination of leading protestants. (Pollen, Pap. Neg., 321) Buchanan repeats this story later. (infra, 120) The above is probably a conflation of both incidents.
- (2) Maitland at least seems to have been acquainted with de Gouda's message. (Pollen, op.cit., 119) Buchanan's reference to the papal letters, however, is clearly connected with the incident of 1566, for there is reason to believe that the briefs carried by the nuncio in 1562 were secret. (Pollen, Pap. Neg., 120)
- (3) The reason for Mary's first Northern progress has been controverted. See Introduction, xcic, ff.
- (4) The Queen arrived at Aberdeen on 27 August. (MS Despenes de la Maison Royale, 1562)
- (5) Knox says that the Countess of Huntly 'always bore fair countenance to the Queen' and that when they met Mary in Aberdeen, the earl and his wife were 'supposed to have the greatest credit.' (Knox, II, 58)

matters the counsels of princes are influenced. She knew how the Queen had regarded both Moray and Huntly in recent times: that she hated both, and used sometimes to ponder in her heart which of them she would rather be rid of first. She could not tolerate Moray's integrity, so much opposed to her own licentiousness. She hated Gordon's treachery, proved by many instances, first against her father, and then her mother; and she feared his power. However, the letters of her uncles and of the Pope pressed for the death of Moray. Gordon was well aware of her dilemma, and wishing to clear it up, repeated by his wife his promise to restore the Roman practices. The Queen listened willingly to them. But there was one obstacle, though not a great one, to her agreeing to the plan. She did not believe, she said, that she could with honour be reconciled to their son John, who had broken prison, where he had been committed shortly before on account of the tumult at Edinburgh, unless he surrendered himself and put himself in ward, for a few days at least, in Stirling. (1) The Queen desired this not so much for the reason she pretended, as that once Moray was dead, she would be left completely free,

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- (1) A court of Justiciary had been appointed to be held in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen on 31 August, for the purpose of settling the dispute between John Gordon and Ogilvy of Cardell. (Accts. L.H.T., XI, 195) John Gordon compeared, and agreed to ward himself in the Provost's lodging until the Queen's decision was known. Next day, 1 September, he was ordered to ward himself in Stirling Castle within seven days. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 218)



and not compelled to marry, the bridegroom being absent. Gordon wanted to give the Queen some satisfaction; but he hesitated to put his son into the hands of the man primarily hostile to his plans - John, Earl of Mar, Moray's uncle and governor of Stirling castle; especially as he did not know for certain how the Queen would react after the murder had been committed. (1)

They laboured thus in deceiving one another, because of their mutual suspicions, and the Queen, though she disclaimed any hesitancy in carrying out the plan to their joint satisfaction, yet did nothing to expedite it. John Gordon, determined to show his devotion, and eager for any outcome, had brought about a thousand of his relations and dependents, armed and ready for any villainy, and had placed them in positions around the town. (2) Moray was but slenderly attended, and he saw that all these preparations were for his destruction, for he had been forewarned by friends at both the French and English courts. He had not at this time complete confidence in the Queen; yet he carried on his

(1) John Erskine, earl of Mar, was the brother of Moray's mother, Margaret Erskine, one of the mistresses of James V.

(2) Both Gordon and Ogilvy had been warned not to bring more than 100 men. (Accts. L.H.T., XI, 195) Gordon was believed to have brought over 1000 men. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 218; A.P.S., II, 572)

duties as usual in the court during the day, and ordered some of his servants to watch in his chamber by night.

Thus, being kept well informed of his enemies' machinations, and trusting in the protection of his friends, he eluded all their attempts without fuss. (1)

About the same time Bothwell escaped from the castle of Edinburgh, having been let down by a rope from a window. (2) As affairs at Aberdeen hung in suspense, each party trying to deceive the other, the Queen decided to continue her progress, and was invited by John Leslie, a noble vassal of the Gordons, to visit his house, which was about twelve miles from the town. (3) This place, being lonely, seemed to the Gordons to be suitable for committing the murder; but Leslie, who was aware of their secret plans, pleaded that they should not brand him and his family with an infamous reputation as betrayers of the Queen's brother, a man of great power and integrity, but also no enemy of his. The next night was

- (1) In the subsequent trial of May, 1563, it was alleged that Huntly and his accomplices planned to seize the Queen and slay the lords of the Council on 31 August, 1562. (A.P.S., II, 572)
- (2) Bothwell broke ward on 30 or 31 August. (Diurnal, 73; Pitcairn, I, 466) Knox says that he escaped through a window. (Knox, II, 54)
- (3) The Queen spent the night of 1 September at Balquhain. (Despences, 1562) The laird was William Leslie, not John, who had died in France in 1561. (Hist. Records of the Family of Leslie, II, 26) Leslie was closely attached to Huntly. (Burgh Records of Aberdeen, 307) But he was considered loyal enough to be summoned against him. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 222) He is named as one of the defectors who went over to Huntly at Corrichie. (Diurnal, 74; Knox, II, 59)

spent at Rothiemay, a village of the Abernethys; (1) everything passed smoothly, for they had decided to spend the next day at Strathbogie, the Gordon castle. (2) The commission of the crime had been deferred till then, as in that place everything would be at the disposal of the Gordons. (3) While they rode, Gordon engaged in a long conversation with the Queen and at length went so far as to demand with some bluntness that she should pardon his son John's offence, which amounted only to this, that he, a youth ignorant of the law, had broken prison, into which he had been cast not for a crime but on account of a tumult which he had not even started. The Queen replied that her authority would seem to be weakened unless his son returned himself again to ward, however free, for a few days; that he might, as it were, expiate his former offence, and be the more honourably discharged. Gordon was unwilling to let slip an opportunity for the crime he had planned, but although the Queen's commands were very light, he obstinately refused

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- (1) Rothiemay, Banffshire, is five miles north-east of Strathbogie, the main seat of the Gordons. It was at this time in the possession of Lord Saltoun. The Queen spent the night of 2 September there. (Despences, 1562)
 - (2) Buchanan here repeats a mistake first made by Knox. (Knox, II, 58) The Queen could not proceed to Rothiemay without first passing Strathbogie. (Scot. Hist. Review, XXXIII, 20)
 - (3) According to the charges brought against Huntly, there was no plan to attack the Queen at Strathbogie. It is alleged that on 3 September (i.e. while the Queen was passing from Rothiemay towards Grange, a few miles north-west of Strathbogie) the Gordons were arranging to seize Mary at Inverness. (A.P.S., II, 573)

ordered the ships which had followed her with provisions to obey them; for if the Queen did not approve of the murder remain ready at the river anchorage, that if attacked by a stronger force, she might take refuge on board. In the middle of the night the spies sent out by Huntly were his son, even with the Queen's approval, he saw that the youth would be held as a hostage. The Queen was so offended by Gordon's perversity, that when almost within sight of his mansion, she turned in another direction. (1) Thus the whole plan, arranged, as they believed, so wisely, was delayed until the court should reach Inverness. Here, besides being sheriff, Gordon was governor of the royal castle, which is situated on a high hill overlooking the town; and so the whole district round about was full of his vassals. (2) The Queen had decided to lodge in the castle, but was refused admission by the guards. (3) Only then did she become alarmed, at the prospect of passing the night in an unfortified castle. (2) Since it was neither properly manned nor town, while Huntly's son had in arms more than a thousand select horsemen, besides a nondescript host from the surrounding countryside. The Queen took counsel on the situation and posted watches on all the approaches to the town. (4) She

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- (1) On 11 September, the day she arrived in Inverness, the Queen had decided not to visit Strathbogie before she left Aberdeen. (C.S.P.For., 1562, no. 554)
- (2) Both offices, Sheriff and Governor, were now held by George, Lord Gordon, Huntly's son.
- (3) The deputy Governor was Alexander Gordon. He was hanged the following day, 13 September. (Diurnal, 73)
- (4) This is confirmed by Randolph's account. (C.S.P.For., 1562, no. 648)

ordered the ships which had followed her with provisions to remain ready at the river anchorage, that if attacked by a stronger force, she might take refuge on board. In the middle of the night the spies sent out by Huntly were deliberately allowed to pass through the first line of guards, until they approached a narrow place, when they were all surrounded and captured. From the mountains the clan Chattan, who had deserted Huntly as soon as they heard that they were to be led against the Queen, came into the town the next day to join the Queen. When they heard of the danger of their princess, a great number of the highlanders joined her, partly voluntarily and partly summoned. (1) Foremost among them were the Frasers and the Monros, among the bravest of these clans. When she saw that she was now secure, the Queen set about attacking the castle. (2) Since it was neither properly manned nor equipped to sustain an assault, the castle surrendered. The leaders of the defenders were executed, the rest sent away without injury. (3) From all directions the nobility then

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- (1) On 11 September, the day she arrived in Inverness, the Queen summoned the lieges of Nairn and Elgin to come to Inverness 'with all possible diligence.' (Accts. L.H.T., XI, 200)
- (2) The Queen bought powder and shot with which to attack the Castle. (ibid)
- (3) Knox says that the rest of the garrison were made prisoners, but escaped. (Knox, II, 58)

flocked to her, so that those who came from farther away could now be allowed to return home. She herself proceeded toward Aberdeen on the fourth day, under adequate protection.⁽¹⁾ There, now that she was free from terror, she became violently angry with Gordon, and being intent upon revenge she again showered all marks of favour on her brother, pretending that she relied upon him entirely, and laboured to persuade everyone that her life depended wholly on his safety.

Gordon now saw that the whole scene had changed at court, and that the earl of Moray, but lately destined to die, was in the greatest favour, while he himself had fallen from the highest hopes of honour and dignity to being an object of the bitterest hatred. He believed that he had now gone too far to have any hope of pardon, and turned toward desperate measures. He could see no outlet from the immediate dangers than that he should by some means get the Queen into his power. For though he saw that she would at first be highly offended, he did not despair of being able to bend her feminine spirit through time, by perseverance, flatteries and the marriage to his son, of which her uncles

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- (1) On 14 September letters of proclamation were sent to Nairn, Forres, and Elgin, charging the lieges to meet the Queen at Elgin and accompany her to Aberdeen. (Accts. L.H.T., XI, 200) According to Randolph, she had 3000 men before she reached the Spey. (C.S.P.For., 1562, no. 688) For their services the highlanders were handsomely rewarded. (Thirde of Benefices, 100) Mary left Inverness on 15 September, and proceeded to Aberdeen by way of Kilravock, Darnaway, Spynie, Cullen, Craigboyne, Banff, Turriff, and Esslemont. She arrived at Aberdeen on 22 September. (Despences, 1562)

were believed to be in favour. Thus he conveyed his intention to his friends, and it was determined that by any means Moray was to be cut off. Once he were removed, there remained no one whom the Queen could trust with the government, or if she did, who could maintain its management. Spies gave him hopes of accomplishing his object. Among others, George Gordon, (1) earl of Sutherland, being constantly at court by a pretence of friendship for the Queen, ferreted out all her plans and conveyed them to Huntly by suitable agents. He not only watched for suitable times and places, but also offered his services in carrying out the deed. In addition to this, the town was open on all sides and suitable for ambuscades. The citizens, because they were won over by bribes, or bound by relationship, or stricken with fear, would risk no interference. (2) The highland auxiliaries had been sent home. The earl of Moray had but few men, and these brought from the most distant parts, and whose enmity was not much to be feared. And as he (Huntly) held sway over all the neighbouring districts, the thing might be done without bloodshed: for if only one man were killed, and the Queen were in their power, other injuries might easily be cleared up.

(1) This should be John Gordon, 10th earl of Sutherland, who was with the Queen in Aberdeen. (Keith, II, 176)

(2) Huntly was Sheriff of Aberdeenshire, and the most powerful man in the district.

(4) This was Corribble, on the Hill of Fara, Aberdeenshire.

These arguments persuaded him to make the attempt, and the plan was all settled, when the whole plot was discovered in letters intercepted between the earl of Sutherland and John Leslie. (1) On learning the disclosure, Sutherland fled. Leslie confessed his fault and obtained pardon, and behaved for the rest of his life as a brave and loyal servant of the Queen, and then of the King. (2)

Huntly awaited the outcome of his plans with a large band of his men, placed in a position almost inaccessible because of surrounding bogs. (3) When he learned what had happened at court, he decided, by the advice of his friends, to retreat into the mountains. But reassured by the promises of many of the neighbouring nobility who had joined the Queen, and who were closely attached to him, he again changed his plans, and decided to await the outcome of battle in this natural fortress. (4) Moray advanced against the enemy

(1) Letters were said to have been found on Thomas Ker, disclosing plots against Moray and Lethington. (C.S.P. For., 1562, no. 823) Knox says that Ker was 'whole counsellor' to Sutherland. (Knox, II, 62) Ker was committed to ward when he brought the keys of John Gardon's houses, Findlater and Auchindoune, and he and his brother confessed to the plots. (C.S.P. For., 1562, no. 823) These confessions, however, were extorted by torture.

(2) This is from Knox, whom Buchanan has followed. (Knox, II, 77) Both mistakenly refer to John Leslie, father of William. William Leslie's remission is in R.S.S., IV, no. 1271.

(3) At Huntly's trial, it was stated that the Gordons met at the Hill of Noth, in Strathbogie, on 27 October. They marched via Keig to the loch of Skene, and thence to Corrichie. (A.P.S., II, 581) There were 800 men. (Diurnal, 73; Knox, II, 59)

(4) This was Corrichie, on the Hill of Fare, Kincardineshire.

although he had scarcely a hundred horsemen of his own whom he could trust. In the vanguard were the nobles present, James Douglas, earl of Morton, and Patrick Lindsay. (1) The rest, about eight hundred, were collected from neighbouring estates, and were for the most part, previously corrupted by Huntly. They marched along with great boasting, but were more likely to drag Moray's army to ruin than to give any service in the hour of danger. They promised that they would finish off the enemy by themselves, the others need only look on as spectators.

Some horsemen were sent ahead to close up all the approaches to the swamp, to cut off Huntly's escape, and the rest advanced more slowly. Though many of the Gordons had fled during the previous night, there still remained above three hundred, holding their position. Moray arrived and stood with his men drawn up in single line of battle on a neighbouring hill, from which there was a view over the marshes. The rest, as they were being led against the enemy, openly revealed their treason, for they fixed to their bonnets sprigs of heather, (which grew there in profusion) that they might be recognised by the enemy. (2) The Gordons, confident of

(1) Patrick, eldest son of John, 5th Lord Lindsay of the Byres.

(2) The chief defectors were the Hays, Forbeses, and Lesliees. (Diurnal, 74; Knox, II, 59)

the issue, ran towards them as they drew nearer. When they saw the opposite line thrown into confusion by the traitors, and already turned in flight, the Gordons threw away their spears, so that they could pursue them more quickly, and rushed forward against their foes with drawn swords, shouting treason to strike terror into the ranks yet unbroken. The traitors, thinking their joint impetus would turn back the line which still remained firm, rushed towards it. But Moray saw no hope in flight, and believed that nothing remained but an honourable death. (1) He ordered his men to thrust out their spears, and allow none of the fugitives to enter their line. These, held off contrary to their expectation, passed by on both wings in a disorderly rout. The Gordons, who thought that the affair was now at an end, were advancing in a scattered and disorderly formation: but when they saw Moray's line, small but bristling with outstretched spears, and were unable to close in because of the length of their opponents' pikes, they were struck with panic, and fled a good deal faster than they had been pursuing. The traitors saw this change of fortune and at once turned upon the fleeing men. It was as if they atoned for their former crime, for whoever was slain that day

(1) It is interesting to note that in Knox's account of the battle, it is Maitland who is credited with keeping the line firm. (Knox, II, 60-61)

was slain by them. About a hundred and twenty Gordons fell, and a hundred were captured. Moray lost not a man. Among the prisoners was Huntly himself, and his two sons, John and Adam. The father, heavy with age and short of breathing because of his corpulence, died in the hands of his captors. (1) The rest were brought late at night to Aberdeen. (2) Moray had ordered a minister of the gospel to await his return, and first of all gave thanks to Almighty God, that he and all his men had escaped such great and present danger, by no strength or cunning of his own, but by His favour alone, who had thus delivered His people beyond all expectation. (3) He then went forward to the Queen's presence. There, amid the congratulations of many, the Queen showed no joy either in her face or her speech. (4)

Some days later, John Gordon was executed, not without the stirring of varying emotions. He was a handsome young man in the very flower of youth, more worthy of a royal bed

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- (1) There are accounts of the battle in the Diurnal, 74, Knox, II, 61, Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1148. It has been suggested that the earl died of apoplexy. (Records of Aboyne, 467) His captor was one Andrew Redpath. (Diurnal, 74)
 - (2) Huntly's body was placed in the Tolbooth, where his sons were imprisoned. (Knox, II, 61)
 - (3) Knox gives an account of this service. (Knox, II, 62)
 - (4) The Queen 'rejoiced not greatly of the success,' says Knox. (ibid) But Randolph wrote that she was 'determined to proceed against' the Gordons 'with all extremity.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, I, no. 1144)

than to be cheated by the offer of it. What roused much indignation as well as pity was the fact that he was mangled by an unskilful executioner. The Queen saw his death with many tears. But as she was well skilled in concealing her feelings, her grief on that occasion was variously interpreted, for many realised that she bore as much hatred toward her brother as to Huntly. Adam was pardoned because of his youth, (1) George, the eldest, fled in desperation to his father-in-law, James Hamilton. (2) He hoped either to find refuge with him, or to gain pardon through his intercession. Many of the Gordon vassals were punished according to their guilt, some by fines and some by exile. Some were banished to distant parts of the country, that they might not cause trouble at home. Those fortunate enough to have powerful protectors were pardoned, and restored to their former places of grace. Affairs in the north being thus settled, or smoothed over, the rest of the winter passed quietly. (3) The Duke met the Queen at Dundee, and interceded for him. (Stevenson's Selections, 104) Knox claims that Moray 'laboured at the Queen's hands' for him.

On 27 November Bothwell was commanded by proclamation to restore himself in the ward he had broken, and when he refused to obey, he was put to the horn. (3) When the Queen was

(1) See Diurnal, 74.

(2) According to Randolph and Knox the Duke took George Gordon into custody before interceding for him. (Keith, II, 176; Knox, II, 63)

(3) There is no mention of this proclamation in the Reg. Privy Council or the Diurnal. (Edinburgh Burgh Records, III, 194; IV, 487)

(4) The Archbishop was tried on 13 May, 1563. (Diurnal, 76; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 8; Knox, II, 76) 47 others were charged. (Edinburgh Burgh Records, I, 427)

returning from Aberdeen to Perth, James Hamilton interceded for his son-in-law George Gordon. He received a mild enough answer, but nevertheless he was compelled to give up his son-in-law. (1) Gordon was committed to prison in Dunbar. Next year, 1563, on 26 January, he was taken to Edinburgh, where he was condemned for high treason, and sent back to Dunbar. (2) About this time proclamation was made forbidding anyone, under pain of a large fine, to eat flesh during lent: the command was not made on religious grounds, but for the public weal. (3) The Archbishop of St. Andrews was committed to Edinburgh castle because he had not abstained from hearing or saying the mass, according to the proclamation made upon the Queen's return. (4) Others were slightly fined for the same crime, and threatened with greater punishment if they were afterwards detected in similar offences. The parliament now met, which had been

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- (1) The Duke met the Queen at Dundee, and interceded for George Gordon. (Stevenson's Selections, 104) Knox claims that Moray 'laboured at the Queen's hands' for Gordon's life. (Knox, II, 63) On the other hand, Moray has been accused of contriving against Gordon's life. (Hay Fleming, 306-7)
- (2) Gordon was brought to Edinburgh on 26 November, committed to Edinburgh Castle on 28 November, 1562, condemned on 8 February, 1563, sent to Dunbar on 11 February, brought back to Edinburgh in May to hear sentence pronounced on his father, and returned to Dunbar. (Diurnal, 74-75; Stevenson's Selections, 105; Knox, II, 63; A.P.S., II, 576; Records of Aboyne, 470)
- (3) A proclamation to this effect was issued on 11 February, 1563. Scarcity of meat owing to a severe winter was the reason assigned. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 235) Such proclamations were not uncommon. (Cf. Edinburgh Burgh Records, III, 194; IV, 487)
- (4) The Archbishop was tried on 19 May, 1563. (Diurnal, 75; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 8; Knox, II, 76) 47 others were charged. (Pitcairn, I, 427)

summoned for the 20 May. (1) The Queen came to the council-chamber with great pomp, in magnificent robes, with the crown upon her head. (2) It would have been a truly novel spectacle, had not the eyes of men been taught to tolerate a woman's rule by her mother and her grandmother. (3) In this parliament some laws were enacted for the benefit of those of the reformed religion, and a few for the punishment of coiners. (4) The rest of the summer the Queen gave up to hunting in Atholl. (5) Towards the end of Autumn there returned to Scotland, with the Queen's permission, Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox. (6) This was the twenty-second year since he had left the country, having been basely deserted by the king of France. (7) In January of the following year, 1564, in a

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- (1) This agrees with the Diurnal, 76, and Knox, II, 76. Aikman, for some reason, gives 21 May as the date, though all the texts read, 'in xx mensis Maii.'
- (2) See Randolph's account, Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 9
- (3) i.e. Mary of Lorraine and Margaret, widow of James IV.
- (4) See A.P.S., II, 538. Buchanan casually dismisses a parliament which enacted important legislation concerning the Kirk, farming, fisheries, witchcraft, and other matters.
- (5) This hunting trip occurred in July, 1564. (Keith, II, 229; Knox, II, 85, 137; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 89) Thus Buchanan has omitted a whole year, from May, 1563 to the autumn of 1564.
- (6) Lennox returned in September, 1564. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 97)
- (7) Lennox left Scotland in 1544. (Diurnal, 33) So he had been absent twenty years, not twenty-two. Knox's continuator follows Buchanan in this error. (Knox, II, 137)

parliament called almost solely for this purpose, his banishment was remitted and he was restored to his estates. (1) The Queen accompanied his restitution with many compliments, recalling the numerous services the earl had rendered her during her infancy; as by his means she had been rescued from the hands of her enemies and endowed with regal status. (2) Then on 13 February there came to Scotland his son Henry, who had been given leave to pass from England for three months. (3) The Queen received the young man graciously, for he was of high birth, very handsome, and he was her cousin. (4) His constant attentions won her affection, and the rumour spread that she would choose him for her husband. (5) The nobility were not averse to this match, for great advantages for the whole of Britain seemed likely to result from such a marriage, if the consent of the English

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- (1) Lennox was restored by proclamation on 9 October, 1564. (Diurnal, 78; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 108) The parliament called to confirm the restitution sat from 11 to 16 December. (A.P.S., II, 545)
- (2) This statement is derived from the Lennox MSS. (Mahon, Mary, Queen of Scots, 120)
- (3) Cf. Diurnal, 79; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 147, 148.
- (4) Darnley's mother, the Lady Margaret, was daughter of Margaret Tudor, Mary's grandmother.
- (5) The possibility of a match between Mary and Darnley had been mooted as early as 1562 and rumours had circulated even earlier. (C.S.P. Spanish, 1558-1567, no. 173; C.S.P. For., 1561-62, no. 40) It was after Darnley's bout of measles in April, 1565, that Mary's infatuation with him became noticeable. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 163, 166, 168, etc.)

Queen could be obtained. (1) She, who was nearest kin to both, rather wished to be regarded as an advocate of the match than to prevent it. She thought there would be something of pleasure in it for her, and at the same time it would be much to her advantage that the authority of her cousin should be limited by this insignificant alliance, which would prevent her power from growing greater than was safe for her neighbours. (2) But I must say a few words about something which for a time hindered the attainment of what was planned, and which at last caused a great and lasting upheaval in the country.

Among the servants at court there was one David Riccio, born at Turin, in Savoy, whose father, a decent man but very poor, barely maintained himself and his family by teaching the

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- (1) Not all the nobility approved of the match. As early as April, 1565, Randolph reported that the Hamiltons' resentment was increasing, that the 'godly' were desperate, and that Moray's approval was uncertain. (ibid., nos. 168, 171)
- (2) Elizabeth's rôle in the affair remains controversial. The belief that Elizabeth regarded the marriage as advantageous to herself was certainly prevalent at the time. Knox's continuator repeats the statement. (Knox, II, 140, 146) European observers entertained the suspicion. (Pollen, Pap. Neg., 464) Randolph drew attention to it in April, 1565. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 166, 168, 171) At this time Randolph deplored the intending marriage and warned Cecil of the suspicion. A few days later Randolph's view had changed. He now saw in it some advantage to Elizabeth - 'a greater benefit to the Queen's Majesty could not have chanced,' since the marriage would hinder or prevent Mary's succession to the English throne. (ibid., no. 174) Clearly Cecil had re-organised Randolph's thoughts for him.

elements of music. (1) As he had nothing worth leaving as an inheritance, he taught his children, of both sexes, to play the lute. David was one of these; and when he had come to manhood, being gifted with a not unpleasing voice and well-trained in music by his father, he went to try to better his fortunes in Nice, to the court of the Duke of Savoy, who had recently been restored to his estates. But there his hopes were not realised, and he became destitute. After trying many things, he at last fell in with Morette, who was then getting ready for a journey to Scotland on a mission for the Duke. (2) Riccio followed him here, but after they arrived Morette, who was not a very rich man, considered that his services were neither necessary nor useful to him. He decided to remain here for a time, to try his fortune once again. What chiefly decided him was that he had heard that the Queen delighted in singing, and was herself not unskilled in music. Therefore that he might obtain access to her, he arranged with her singers, who were mostly Frenchmen, that he should appear

(1) Riccio seems certainly to have been born in Turin. His age when he came to Scotland is not known. Leslie says that he was about fifty, (Forbes-Leith, 109) but a more authoritative account puts his age at twenty-eight. (Labanoff, VII, 86)

(2) Morette reached Scotland on 3 December, 1561. An account of his mission is given in Pollen, Queen Mary's Letter to Guise, XXXIV.

before her with them. When he had been heard once or twice, he pleased her, and was at once enrolled in the company. (1) In a short time he had so shrewdly estimated the Queen's nature and wont that partly by flattery and partly by denigrating the other servants he ingratiated himself with her, while earning the hatred of the others. Not content with this good fortune he got rid of his rivals by denigrating some and by having others dismissed for various offences. Gradually he began to rise, and to handle more important affairs, until he was made secretary. (2) Under this pretext, he could be with the Queen privately and alone. Remarks were now being passed upon the sudden rise of this man from beggary to riches, a man whose fortune was so much greater than his merits, whose arrogance was so much greater than his fortune, who was so contemptuous of his equals and who was jealous of his superiors. The fawning of a large number of the nobility increased the man's insane vanity. They courted his friendship by greeting him familiarly, by

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- (1) This account agrees sufficiently with that of Melville, who claimed to know Riccio well. (Memoirs, 132) Buchanan's and Melville's are the only contemporary accounts of Riccio's first appearance at court.
- (2) We first hear of Riccio in Randolph's letters on 15 December, 1564: 'Raulet her old secretary is clean out of favour....Riccio an Italian occupieth now his place.' Later, 1 - 3 March, Randolph writes: 'An Italian Piemontois, a singer that came with M. Moret, is her secretary for French affairs. He 'croope in' on suspicion gathered against Raulet.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 124, 153)

listening avidly to his speeches, by walking before his door and watching for him when he went out and when he came home. (1) Moray, alone, in whom dwelt no deception, not only refused to flatter him, but frequently showed his contempt for him; and this offended the Queen no less than it offended David himself. (2) He, on the other hand, prepared a protection for himself against the hatred of the nobles by courting with every kind of flattery the young man destined for the royal bed. He attained such familiarity with him that he was admitted to his table, his chamber, and his most secret thoughts. He persuaded the reckless youth, who was as credulous as he desired, that it was chiefly by his good offices that the Queen had become attracted by him. (3) He was also assiduous in sowing seeds of discord between him and Moray; for he promised himself that if Moray were driven away, the rest of his life would run a smooth course.

(1) So says Melville. (Memoirs, 132)

(2) Yet on at least one occasion, according to Melville, Moray 'sued to him very earnestly, and more humbly than could have been believed, with the present of a fair diamond, enclosed within a letter, full of repentance and fair promises, from that time forth to be his friend and protector.' (Memoirs, 147)

(3) In May Randolph wrote that Riccio was among 'the chief dealers' in the Darnley match, and in June he reported that Riccio was 'only governor' to Darnley. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 174, 191) Melville, too, says that Riccio was Darnley's 'great friend at the Queen's hand.' (Memoirs, 134)

The marriage with Henry, and his secret meetings with the Queen, now became the common report. Remarks were passed on her familiarity with David Moray, whose good advice gained him only hatred from the Queen, decided to retire from court, lest he be thought the instigator of what was going on. (1) The Queen was not displeased at the absence of so strict a critic, especially at a time when she was making friends of his enemies. She recalled the exiles, Bothwell from France, George Gordon, earl of Sutherland, from Flanders. (2) She released from prison the other George Gordon, son of the earl of Huntly, and restored him to his former rank and dignity. (3) On Bothwell's return from France Moray charged him with the recent plots against his life. Some well-born young men who had been his intimates

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- (1) Moray left court on 3 April, 1565. There was some speculation as to his motive. Randolph thought it was the 'ungodly ceremonies' of the papists. It was rumoured that Moray had left in disfavour because he had been too outspoken about Mary's 'idolatry.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 163)
- (2) Bothwell returned from France in March, 1565. The Queen had not recalled him, but actually sent to have him arrested. (*ibid*, no. 157) Buchanan has anticipated here. Bothwell returned to France in April (*ibid*, no. 171) and Mary recalled him in July. (*ibid*, no. 216) He arrived in September. (*ibid*, no. 261) Sutherland arrived at the end of August, (*ibid*, no. 237) but was detained at Berwick until 1566. (*ibid*, nos. 248, 306, 329, 330)
- (3) George Gordon was restored by proclamation on 25 August, 1565. (*ibid*, no. 237; *Diurnal*, 81) His restoration was confirmed by the parliament of April, 1567. (*A.P.S.*, II, 576)
- (4) Bothwell was condemned in absentia of high treason. (*Pitcairn*, I, 465)

in France offered their testimony. (1) The truth was evident, shocking, hideous. When the day of the trial approached, the Queen at first strongly urged her brother to withdraw his charges. He could not be persuaded, because he believed the affair closely touched his reputation. The Queen then did the next best thing: she wrote to many nobles to warn them against attending the day of law. (2) When Alexander, earl of Glencairn, Moray's greatest friend, was not far from Stirling on his journey, she summoned him out of his way to come to her. (3) Yet the gathering of well-affected men was so great that Bothwell, already damned by his own conscience, did not dare compear at the trial. (4)

This popular enthusiasm for Moray so inflamed the Queen against her brother that it hastened the downfall already destined for him. The plan they had laid was this. Moray was to be summoned to Perth, where the Queen was with a few of her people. There Darnley was to have some speech with him. No one doubted but that Moray would speak freely and

(1) The witnesses were one Murray and one Dandie Pringle. Randolph helped Moray to procure their evidence. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 157) The trial was held on 2 May, 1565, before Argyll, a friend of Moray. The proceedings are in Pitcairn, I, 461-465.

(2) On 3 May Randolph reported that the Queen had prevented some from attending the trial. On the other hand, it seems that five or six thousand of Moray's supporters thronged the city. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 174)

(3) According to Knox's continuator, Glencairn was at the trial. (Knox, II, 144)

(4) Bothwell was condemned in absentia of high treason. (Pitcairn, I, 465)

plainly, and they would pick a quarrel, in which David Riccio would strike the first blow. The others would soon finish the work. (1) Moray was informed of this plot by friends who were at court; yet he determined still to go there. But at length, on being again warned by Patrick Ruthven, he turned aside from his way and went to his mother's house close by, near Lochleven. Here he was seized by a sudden bout of diarrhoea, and made use of his ailment as an excuse to stay there. A number of his friends came to visit him, and the rumour at once arose that he stayed there to intercept Darnley and the Queen as they returned to Edinburgh. Horsemen were sent out in every direction but saw no armed men. However, the Queen made her journey there with such haste and alarm that one might have thought she was in certain immediate peril. (2)

When the wedding drew nearer, in order that some semblance of public consent might be added to the Queen's desire, a large part of the nobility was convoked at

(1) This story has no other authority. It is probably a counter-charge to the rumour that Moray planned to seize Darnley. (see n. 2 below)

(2) This incident is said to have occurred on 1 July, when the Queen and Darnley were passing from Perth to Callendar. (Keith, II, 309-312) The story is well authenticated: by Knox's continuator, (Knox, II, 153; Pitscottie, II, 182) Melville, (Memoirs, 135) Leslie, (Anderson's Collections, I, 60) and Mary herself. (Lebanoff, I, 304) The Queen's alarm is certain, but there is not sufficient evidence that her alarm was justified. For a discussion of the evidence, see Hay Fleming, 354-356. Maitland said that Mary favoured Lennox's return. (Ibid, nos. 83, 84) In May, 1563, Randolph wrote that Moray would not approve the match because Elizabeth's consent had not been obtained. (Ibid, no. 175)

Stirling. (1) But these were mainly persons who would freely consent, or who would not dare resist. Many of those who assembled assented to the proposals on condition that no change should be made in the established state of religion. But the majority made no demur, and agreed to whatever they thought would be pleasing to the Queen. (2) Only Andrew Stuart of Ochiltree openly protested that he would never consent to the creation of a Popish king. (3) Moray was not against the marriage, having been the chief author of the young man's coming from England, but he saw what trouble it would cause if entered upon without the consent of the Queen of England. (4) He promised that he would do his best to obtain the English Queen's goodwill if only religion were safeguarded. When he saw, however, that there would be no place for freedom of speech in that assembly, he chose rather to absent himself than to express

- (1) The nobles were summoned for 14 May, and the convention was held on 15 May, 1565. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 175; Reg. Privy Council, I, 334)
- (2) Most of the leading nobles attended. Their names are in Reg. Privy Council, I, 334-5. Knox's continuator repeats this allegation.
- (3) Buchanan is alone in singling out Ochiltree as the chief objector to the match. Argyll proclaimed his objection by refusing to attend the convention at Stirling. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 176, 180)
- (4) Moray and Maitland suggested Darnley as a suitor in February, 1564. (ibid, no. 60) In May, 1564, Kirkcaldy of Grange told Randolph that Moray was working for the return of Lennox. (ibid, no. 72) In July Moray refused Cecil's demand that he try to stay Lennox, and Maitland said that Moray favoured Lennox's return. (ibid, nos. 83, 84) In May, 1565, Randolph wrote that Moray would not approve the match because Elizabeth's consent had not been obtained. (ibid, no. 175)

an opinion which might be ruinous to himself and useless to the nation. (1) Furthermore the question was now being widely discussed, whether a Queen, on the death of her husband, could marry any other she might choose, at her own discretion. Some thought a widowed Queen ought not to be denied the freedom allowed to the common people. Others, on the other hand, asserted that the case was different for an heiress to a kingdom, who by the same act took a husband to herself and gave a King to the people. Many were of the opinion that it was more proper that the people should choose a husband for a girl, than that a girl should choose a King for a people.

In the month of July, an ambassador arrived from England to express the English Queen's amazement that they should precipitate an affair of such importance without consulting her, who stood in the same relationship to both parties. She particularly requested that they should delay the proceedings and consider it well, for this would serve the interests of both kingdoms. This embassy gained nothing, and was quickly followed

(1) Moray attended the convention. (ibid, no. 183; Reg. Privy Council, I, 335) But a note in the Register suggests that he left in the middle of the proceedings. (ibid) He appears to have gone home about 21 May. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 183)

(3) Darnley was created earl of Ross in May, and Duke of Albany on 22 July, 1564. (ibid, no. 183; Diurnal, 79)

by another. (1) Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, in the name of the Queen of England, warned Lennox and his son that they had leave for only a certain time, and that this time had expired. He therefore commanded them to return home, under pain of banishment and the forfeiture of their estates. (2) This threat did not stay them. They persisted in their purpose. Meanwhile the Queen published an order creating Darnley Duke of Rothesay and earl of Ross, that her marriage might not seem too unequal, if she, but recently the wife of a great King, and in her own right the heiress of an illustrious kingdom, should marry a private young gentleman distinguished by no great title. (3) In order to hasten the marriage, they urged the predictions of witches in both kingdoms, to the effect that if the wedding was held before the end of July, great

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- (1) Buchanan's facts are confused here. The first embassy was that of Throckmorton, in May. (*ibid*, no. 178) There is no record of an earlier embassy, though Melville also says there were two, the second being Throckmorton's. (*Memoirs*, 134, 140) The reference may be to Maitland's letters from London, which arrived early in May, (*Cal. Scot. Papers*, II, no. 174) or possibly representations made by Randolph. Throckmorton's embassy was followed by another, that of Thomworth in August. (*ibid*, nos. 220, 225, etc.)
- (2) Throckmorton's Instructions contain no reference to the recall of Lennox and Darnley. (*ibid*, nos. 170, 173) In April, Randolph was instructed to stay delivery of letters to Lennox and Darnley, which probably commanded them to return. (*ibid*, no. 171) On 18 June, Elizabeth wrote Mary demanding their return. (*ibid*, no. 201) Later, after the marriage, Randolph was charged formally to demand their return. (*ibid*, nos. 222, 234)
- (3) Darnley was created earl of Ross in May, and Duke of Albany on 22 July, 1565. (*ibid*, no. 183; *Diurnal*, 79)
- that Mary was determined. (Pollen, 2nd ed., 194 ff)
There is no foundation for Buchanan's allegation regarding the Duc de Guise.

advantage would accrue to both kingdoms in the future; but if it were delayed beyond that time, great loss and disgrace would result. Furthermore, rumours were spread everywhere of the death of the Queen of England. Even the day by which she would die was predicted - a prophecy which smacked less of divination than of domestic conspiracy. (1) Not the least reason for the Queen's haste was that she knew her uncles were against the marriage. Therefore if it were delayed longer, she feared that they would throw some obstacle in her way, and upset the arrangement, which was so near to completion. For when that secret decree was passed for undertaking a holy war throughout Christendom, and crushing the reformed religion, the Duke of Guise, the appointed leader, entertained the most vicious and extravagant expectations, and decided, by means of his niece, so to disturb Britain with domestic strife as to render them incapable of affording help to their friends abroad. (2) But David, who was at this time all-powerful with the Queen, argued that the marriage would be of service to the cause of Christianity, because Henry

(1) In October, 1565, Randolph reports 'consultations with witches' etc. 'to know times and years of some folks' lives.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 274) Rumours of Elizabeth's death were frequent in Scotland at this time. (cf. Melville, Memoirs, 153)

(2) The Cardinal of Lorraine favoured a match with the Prince de Condé. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 170) On 23 May, 1565, he sent agents to dissuade Mary against marrying Darnley. (Teulet, Relations Politiques, II, 199) But he acquiesced, apparently, as soon as he saw that Mary was determined. (Pollen, Pap. Neg., 194 ff) There is no foundation for Buchanan's allegation regarding the Duc de Guise.

Darnley and his father were zealous Papists, beloved in both kingdoms, allied to illustrious families, and supported by many vassals. After long discussion, he carried his point. Riccio saw two disadvantages for himself if the marriage were completed with the consent of the Queen of England and the nobility of Scotland. First, he would lose the credit of having brought it about; and secondly, the reformed religion would be protected. But if the Queen attached herself to the council of Trent, he promised himself sacerdotal honours, not only great wealth, but also unrivalled power. Therefore he exerted himself to the utmost, and at last succeeded in precipitating the marriage, little to the satisfaction of the Scots, and greatly to the indignation of the English.

On 29 July Henry Stuart took Mary Stuart to wife. (1) When the proclamation was made to the multitude, they expressed good wishes to Henry and Mary, sovereigns of Scotland. Next day, they were proclaimed King and Queen at Edinburgh. (2) This offended not only the nobility but also the common people; and there were some who decried it as the worst kind of precedent. What was the use of calling a parliament to create a King, if their advice is not asked, or their authority required? They had put a herald in the place of the council,

(1) Diurnal, 80, etc.

(2) The proclamation was made on 28 July, and again the day after the marriage. (Nat. MSS Scot. III, no. 48; Reg. Privy Council, I, 345-6) It is interesting to note that the marriage took place before the arrival of the Papal Dispensation. (J. Robertson, Concilia Scotiae, II, clxix)

and made a proclamation instead of consulting the council. An assembly now could not be for consultation, but merely an attempt to impose tyranny upon the Scots. The absence of almost all the leading members of the nobility increased that suspicion. Those who were not in attendance were James, Duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyll, Moray, Glencairn, Rothes, and many others of noble blood and great wealth. (1) Heralds were sent demanding their attendance. They refused, and were put to the horn. (2) Most of them withdrew into Argyll. (3) Their enemies were recalled to court. The King and Queen made what preparations seemed necessary against the rebels and went with four thousand men to Glasgow. (4) The rebels kept together at Paisley.

There different consultations were held, according to the characters of the parties. The King and Queen sent a herald to demand the surrender of Hamilton castle, and when he returned without result they prepared for battle. The other party was divided by disagreement of opinion. The Hamiltons, who were the most powerful in these parts, declared that there would be

(1) The lords were in Stirling, discussing the situation. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 210, 211)

(2) Moray was put to the horn on 6 August, 1565. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 349-350; Diurnal, 81)

(3) They were in Argyll about 10 August. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, 226)

(4) Mary and Darnley left Edinburgh on 26 August. (ibid, no. 237; Diurnal, 82) They proceeded to Glasgow via Stirling.

no sound establishment of peace unless the King and Queen were removed. (1) As long as they were safe, they said, nothing could be expected save new wars, new plots, or a pretence of peace more dangerous than open conflict. Private men's quarrels are often ended in sheer weariness, and are often conciliated by much effort. But only by death can the enmity of kings be removed. Moray and Glencairn, who knew that the Hamiltons looked to their own interests rather than the public weal (for they were next in succession if the Queen were killed) and who abhorred both the idea of murder and the power of the Hamiltons (whose cruelty and greed they had so recently experienced) proposed milder measures. They desired that if possible a civil dissension, which had hitherto been carried on by the exchange of opinion rather than by blood, should be settled on honourable terms. There were many in the royal camp who would support these counsels and listen readily to the advocates of peace, and would not abandon those who were merely seeking to defend their own safety by an unavoidable resort to arms. The King and Queen were perhaps, because of their youth, too reckless, but they had done nothing yet to ruin the country. If they had any

(1) cf 'Ané Admonitioun', 1571: 'The Duke's friends left him all because the rest of the lords would not consent to put down the queen or derogate her authority in any manner.' (Vernacular Writings, 30)

(3) The 'friends' were Argyll and his followers, who were expected to reach Edinburgh by 3 September, but did not arrive. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 241). There was also some hope that English reinforcements from Berwick would arrive at Leith. (Ibid)

fault which might reveal personal unworthiness, that need not be wiped out by death, but ought to be dealt with by milder remedies. They recollected an observation which had been handed down for the emulation of posterity, that in the lives and conduct of kings, we should turn a blind eye to their more secret faults, give the benefit of the doubt where there is a doubt, and bear with their manifest shortcomings so long as these do not involve a threat to the welfare of the state.

These opinions satisfied the majority, and the rest of the Hamiltons, other than their chieftain James, decided to remain quiet. He stayed with the lords, attended by sixteen horsemen. Their forces being thus diminished, they were unable either to engage the enemy or to force a way through to their several estates. So they yielded to circumstances, and went that night to Hamilton, and next day marched to Edinburgh, to prepare means for carrying on the war. (1) There the castle which commands the city bombarded them continually. (2) Their friends from distant parts could not come to them as swiftly as the situation required. (3) They were told that the King and Queen were practically at

(1) They reached Edinburgh on 31 August. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 239, 241; Diurnal, 82)

(2) The bombardment made the lords' presence unwelcome to the townsfolk. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 245; Diurnal, 82)

(3) The 'friends' were Argyll and his followers, who were expected to reach Edinburgh by 3 September, but did not arrive. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 241) There was also some hope that English reinforcements from Berwick would arrive at Leith. (ibid)

their heels. (1) Thus by the request and assurance of John Maxwell of Herries they made their way to Dumfries. (2) The King and Queen returned to Glasgow, and appointed the earl of Lennox to be their lieutenant in the south-western counties. (3) They themselves marched to Stirling and into the heart of Fife. (4) They compelled the greater part of the nobility to swear that if any conflict arose at the instigation of the English Queen they would render faithful service. (5) They punished defectors by fines or banishment. (6) They seized wherever they could the effects of the rebels who had fled to the English borders. They ordered courts to be set up in every district for the trial of the remaining conspirators. On 9 October they led their

- (1) The lords left Edinburgh at 3 a.m. in the night of 1-2 September, narrowly escaping the Queen's forces. (ibid, nos. 245, 246)
- (2) Cf Randolph: 'He purposes to convoy them to Dumfries, either there to defend them against all her power, or put them in safety in their friends' hands at Carlisle.' (ibid, no. 246)
- (3) The Queen was in Glasgow on 4 September. (ibid) On 5 September the lords and barons of the West subscribed a band of obedience to Lennox as Lieutenant. His commission was issued on 6 September. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 363-5)
- (4) They left Stirling for St. Andrews on 9 September. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 251)
- (5) The band of obedience imposed on the barons and gentlemen of Fife, 12 September, 1565, is in Reg. Privy Council, I, 367.
- (6) The lieges were summoned to be at Stirling on 30 September, with provisions for twenty days. Mary took 'benevolences' of St. Andrews, Dundee and Perth, and 'commanded divers Fife gentlemen to ward.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 261) Fines and 'horning' were the normal consequences of failure to obey a royal injunction. Some men were prosecuted for intercommuning with the rebels. (Pitcairn, I, 466 ff)

army from Edinburgh and made their way to Dumfries. (1) Maxwell, who until that time had worked with great zeal for the party opposed to the King and Queen, considered that the time had now come for him to look to his own interests; and he went out to meet them, as if to intercede for the rebel party. (2) With them he sued for a part of his father-in-law's estate, which he greatly desired. (3) That was readily granted, as he was an energetic, clever and useful man. (4) He returned to the rebels, and made it clear that they would obtain no help from him. He said that every man must look to himself; England was near; if they retreated thither, he himself would settle his affairs, and presently follow them and join his fortunes to theirs. (5) Meanwhile he extorted from Moray a thousand pounds which he claimed to have spent in enlisting cavalry; he had been ordered to raise

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- (1) They left Edinburgh on 8 October. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 278; Diurnal, 84) For the ordering of the army, see Reg. Privy Council, I, 379)
- (2) Cf Diurnal, 85: 'Maxwell came to them in Dumfries, and took his eldest son in pledge for good rule.'
- (3) Maxwell had married Agnes, heiress of Lord Herries, in 1548, and he obtained the title in 1567. (Scot. Peerage, IV, 410)
- (4) Maxwell had been Warden of the West Marches since September, 1561. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 157, 165) He had built up a formidable defensive barrier in and around Annan. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 174) His power in the Borders made him an extremely useful ally. On 23 August, 1565, Mary and Darnley tried to win him to their side (ibid, no. 236) but he sent their letter to Lord Scroope in Carlisle, asking help for the rebels. (Stevenson's Selections, 144) On 7 October, before they left Edinburgh, Mary and Darnley sent a herald to demand surrender of Maxwell's castle at Annan. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 379) This probably determined him to change sides.
- (5) Maxwell returned to Edinburgh with the Queen. By 31 October, he was working 'tooth and nail' for a reconciliation with the rebels. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 293)

a few troops of cavalry, and had mounted his own domestic servants, putting them forward as mercenaries. (1)

By their arrival and the accession of Herries to their party, the King and Queen alarmed their enemies, and arranged everything in those parts in accordance with their own will. The leaders of the opposition were driven away, and the others were occupied with the danger of their own situation. (2) About the end of October they returned to Edinburgh, and all was calm in Scotland until the beginning of Spring. A parliament was summoned for the month of March, for the confiscation of the estates of the exiles, the removal of their names from the list of the nobility, and the destruction of their coats of arms: none of which the rulers could do without an act of parliament. (3)

Meanwhile David, finding the court deserted by the chief nobility, which strengthened his fantastic hopes of power, plied the Queen with rash advice, urging her to put the principal rebels to death. If a few of them were cut off, he argued, the others would dare attempt nothing. But he knew that the Queen's guards, being Scots, would not readily

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- (1) This allegation is unfounded. But greed and treachery were certainly alleged against Maxwell at the time - Mary took pains to clear him of the charges. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 414)
- (2) The lords fled to England at the beginning of October. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 278, 281)
- (3) The 'declaration anent the execution of the summons of treason' is in Reg. Privy Council, I, 409. Parliament was summoned for 3 February, later changed to 7 March.

consent to this villainous murder of the lords. He therefore exerted himself to the utmost to have them removed, and foreigners appointed to the guard in their place - which is almost always the first step towards tyranny. At first Germans were mentioned for this purpose, because men of that race would be entirely loyal to their master. But David, having carefully considered the subject, thought it would be more to his own interests to have Italians performing that duty. His first reason was that he believed men of his own nation would be more in his own power; then being men of no religion they seemed better fit for stirring up trouble, and David believed they would be easily impelled to commit any crime without much thought on the matter. Besides, being needy robbers, born and brought up under tyrants, accustomed to vicious warfare, having nothing to cherish in Britain, they seemed more suited for revolution. Thus gradually, from Flanders and other continental countries, mercenary soldiers began to be collected: but almost singly, and at intervals, that their purpose might be kept hidden. It was more dangerous to offend any of these men than the Queen herself. (1)

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- (1) There is no evidence that the royal guard was thus changed. The Lennox MSS mentions a new guard of mercenary harquebusiers captained by Bothwell, and this is probably Buchanan's source. (Mahon, Mary, Queen of Scots, 122) It is unlikely that any such thing occurred, since it could not have escaped the notice of other contemporaries. Among the 75 permanent guards, only 4 or 5 appear by their names to be foreigners. (Maitland Miscellany, I, 27)

But as the influence and power of David with the Queen became steadily greater, so the King daily became of less importance to her. For though she had married him with headlong haste, she now as suddenly repented, and gave open indication of her changed inclinations. She had proclaimed him King immediately after the wedding, without consent of parliament. (1) And from that time until now, in state documents, the names of both the King and Queen were written. But not long after, though both names were retained, the order was altered, the Queen's name being written first, and the King's second. (2) At length, to deprive her husband of all power of granting favours, she alleged that while he was occupied with hunting and hawking, much business was either not done in time or neglected altogether; it would be more convenient, therefore, if she subscribed papers for both of

(1) The proclamation to this effect was made on 22 July, 1565 - the day before the wedding. It was renewed on 30 July, the day after the wedding. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 345-6)

(2) This allegation is taken from the Book of Articles, (Hosack, 523) which dates the alteration from November, 1565. On 25 December, Randolph reported: 'He (Darnley) was wont to be first named in all writings, but now is placed second.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 319) Coins bearing both Mary's and Darnley's faces were struck, but later withdrawn. (*ibid*) The Act of Council authorising the new coinage, bearing the Queen's name first, is in the name of 'our Sovereigns Queen and King's Majesty.' But this is exceptional. In all other Acts in the Register, between August, 1565 and January, 1567, the King's name precedes that of the Queen. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 413, 441, etc.) In Reg. Great Seal, 'Rex et Regina' is the rule until Darnley's death.

of them. (1) By that means he could enjoy his pleasures while the needs of the state would not suffer by his absence. When he consented to this proposal, as he did not wish to offend her in anything, he was excluded for trivial reasons: that the privilege of granting all favours would belong solely to the Queen, because he was absent from the council and ignorant of public affairs. She reasoned with herself that he would gradually earn everyone's contempt, when his friendship proved unprofitable and his enmity of no account. To add to this indignity, David was substituted in his place, and signed documents on the King's behalf with an iron stamp. (2) By this stratagem the King was stripped of all official responsibility, that he might not be a dangerous witness to their secret business. In the depth of winter he was sent off to Peebles, accompanied by only a sparse following, beneath the dignity of many private gentlemen - as if to be the prey rather than the fowler. (3) At the same time so much snow fell, and

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- (1) There is clear evidence that Mary bore the chief burden of state business, especially after the winter of 1565-6. (see Reg. Privy Council, I, 441, 457, 482, 488, etc.) Mary occasionally signed a document alone, writing fiat after her signature. (See Hay Fleming, 496) But there are documents of later date signed by both. It should be noted that the English refused to accept a safe-conduct carrying Darnley's signature. (see Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 299) Darnley's frequent absences are revealed by documents carrying the two signatures, in different inks. (see Hay Fleming, 497)
- (2) Such a stamp certainly existed. It was used on a document now in the Hamilton Collection. The imprint is quite evident.
- (3) This is from the Detectio. (Ruddiman, I, 65) A letter exists, written by Lennox to his son, proposing to meet the King at Peebles, and confirming that the weather was bad. It is in Keith, I, XCVIII dated 'from Glasgow, this 26 December, (1566)'. The date, 1566, given in parenthesis by Keith, from a conjecture noted by Thomas Innes on the MS, is unconfirmed. (Laing, I, 24)

and the country was so deserted and infested by bandits that the young man, brought up in luxury and educated in a court, was in danger of perishing by starvation, had not the bishop of Orkney come upon him. He knew the district, and had brought with him some wine and other provisions. (1)

The Queen, not content with thus bringing David out from his obscurity, began, in another way, to ornament him with domestic favours. (2) She had already for some months past admitted more than usual to her table, that David's position might be less envied, being shared by a crowd. By this show of popularity she calculated that the strangeness of the sight would be lessened, and its daily repetition would gradually be unnoticed, because of the crowd. Men's stomachs would become used to it, and they would then swallow anything. At last it came to this, that he, with only one or two others, was daily at her table. That the smallness of the place might in part lessen the scandal, the meals were sometimes served in a little chamber, and occasionally even in David's own lodging. But this means of lessening scandal increased

(1) Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, was parson of Ashkirk, in Selkirkshire, and so would have been familiar with the district.

(2) What follows is a veiled reference to the rumour that Mary and Riccio were lovers. It should be noted that the earlier libels contain no mention of this. Buchanan's account of the Riccio murder is derived largely from Ruthven's Relation, where it is implied. Rumours of some such scandal certainly existed. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 280, 284) On 14 February, 1565/6, however, Randolph plainly tells Leicester that Darnley 'knoweth himself that he hath a partaker in play and game with him.' (MSS Nat. Lib. Scot. no. 56-1-7; pr. Tytler, III, 215)

their ill-fame, nourished suspicion and furnished matter for unfavourable comment. What tended to aggravate men's opinions, ready as they were to believe the worst, was that in furniture, dress, the number and quality of his horses, he far exceeded the King. To make the whole thing seem even more unsuitable his elegance did not improve his appearance - indeed, his appearance disfigured his elegance. (1) The Queen, therefore, unable to improve the defects of nature, tried to elevate him to the rank of a lord of parliament by loading him with wealth and honours, that she might conceal his mean birth and physical imperfections beneath the cloak of magnificence which chance had brought him. Her chief reason was that by procuring him the right of voting in parliament, he could manage that assembly according to the Queen's wishes. (2) That he might be advanced gradually, and not appear to be a poor and mercenary councillor, an attempt was made to obtain for him an estate near Edinburgh. This estate is called Melville by the Scots.

(1) The same story occurs in Ruthven's relation (Goldsmith). The lord of this estate, along with his father-in-law and others of his friends who had most influence over him, were summoned. The Queen asked the proprietor to yield the estate, (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 352). The owner of Melville was Sempill. Riccio's name was traditionally associated with Dictionary of Scotland. But Lord Ross seems never to have wavered in his attachment to Mary. He was a Roman Catholic,

(1) There is no authentic evidence as to Riccio's appearance. (see Hay Fleming, 371, n.5)

(2) This refers to an allegation made in the Book of Articles (Hosack, 524) - that the Seal was to be taken from Morton and given to Riccio. Randolph wrote on 6 March, 1566 that this was to be done. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 352) But there is no official evidence. Morton was not deprived of the Seal until 20 March, 1566. (Diurnal, 96)

and urged his father-in-law and his friends to persuade him; but when the matter did not turn out as she wished, the Queen considered this repulse a personal insult. What was more ominous, David was offended. (1)

These things were not done in secret, and the people deplored this state of affairs, and predicted that it would become worse day by day, if at the pleasure of a needy rascal men of ancient nobility and illustrious fame were to be turned out of their ancestral seats. Many of the older folk remembered and spoke of the time when Cochrane killed the King's brother by the greatest piece of villainy, and rose from being a stone-mason to become the earl of Mar, and plunged the country into a civil war which was ended only by the death of the King and the ruination of almost the whole country. (2) These things were said openly, but as is usual in cases of dishonour, secret rumour said much more. The King,

(1) The same story occurs in Ruthven's Relation (Goldsmith Edition, 1891, 26) and in Randolph to Cecil, 6 March, 1566. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 352) The owner of Melville was James, Lord Ross, and his father-in-law was Robert, Lord Sempill. Riccio's name was traditionally associated with Melville as late as 1813. (Carlisle, Topographical Dictionary of Scotland) But Lord Ross seems never to have wavered in his attachment to Mary. He was a Roman Catholic, (Cal. Scot. Papers, III, no. 601) and fought for Mary at Langside. (ibid, II, nos. 650, 653) His constant loyalty does much to discredit the story. Randolph was in Berwick when he wrote the letter cited, and merely reported rumours.

(2) Robert Cochrane was a favourite of James III. His story is related in Book XII of Buchanan's History. (Aikman, II, 202) Buchanan's account is similar to that of Pitscottie.

(1) A similar story was reported by Paul de Foix, the French ambassador, in March, 1566. (Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, II, 126)

(2) This story has no other locale.

determined to believe no-one without the evidence of his own eyes, was informed that David had gone into the Queen's bed-chamber, and he went himself to a small door, the key of which he always carried. He found it bolted on the inside, which was contrary to the usual custom. When he knocked, no one answered. Seething with rage, he spent that night almost without sleep. (1)

After that he selected a few of his servants (for he trusted only a few, knowing that the rest had been bribed by the Queen and placed with him to spy on all his actions and sayings) and consulted them about putting David to death. They approved the design, but could not settle on an adequate means of carrying it out. This consultation occupied some days. The other servants, who were not privy to the plot, suspected by many signs what was afoot, and carried the tale to the Queen, promising to let her see for herself. They did not deceive her. When they had marked an occasion when the King had shut out all the others and was alone with those servants he trusted, the Queen went as if to pass through his bedchamber to her own, and came unexpectedly upon the King with his fellow-conspirators. She bitterly inveighed against him, and harshly threatened his servants. She said that their plotting was futile, she knew all their machinations, and would apply the remedy in due time. (2)

(1) A similar story was reported by Paul de Foix, the French ambassador, in March, 1566. (Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, II, 120)

(2) This story has no other locale.

wrath to moderation. (1) The nobles knew that these letters had come, and were aware of some of their contents, father of his grievance. It seemed to them both that so the Queen, affecting to be gracious towards them, began the only way out of the present evils would be if possible to read them to several lords whom she had summoned. In to reconcile themselves with those nobles still at home, the course of the reading, David openly warned her that and to recall those who were absent. (1) But there was she had read enough. He ordered her to stop. This action need for haste in this task, as the day was near which of his impressed the company more by its arrogance than its the Queen had appointed for the condemnation of the absent novelty, for they knew how imperiously he often behaved lords. She had summoned a parliament for this purpose. (2) towards her, and occasionally reproved her more sharply The French and English ambassadors had earnestly interceded than her husband would dare. (2) with her, as they did not consider the offence deserving of so grave a punishment, and they foresaw what dangers might bitterly debated in parliament. (3) Some, to please the ensue. (3)

the Queen, voted for their punishment as traitors. Others About the same time, long letters came from the contended that they had as yet done nothing to deserve so Queen of England, in which she wisely and amiably discussed the present state of affairs in Scotland, and in gentle, are still extant were written on 25 and 29 October, 1565, even loving terms, tried to sway her cousin's mind from and they announced her intention of sending ambassadors,

- (1) According to Ruthven, the decision to bargain with the exiles was arrived at about 20 February. (Relation, 4) (Ruthven, II, nos. 228, 229, 230) But Elizabeth soon changed her mind, and in November she ordered
- (2) Parliament was appointed for February, and the exiles sent. were summoned to appear on 12 March. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 409; Accts. L. H. T., XI, 452; Diurnal, 85-6) (but this never sent. (Ibid., no. 345 and note)
- (3) The representations of the French ambassador, de Mauvissiere, are in Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, II, 101.
- (3) On 20 October, 1565, Elizabeth had instructed Randolph to intercede for the rebels, but her chief anxiety was to deny that she supported them in any way. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 291) According to Melville, Throckmorton wrote to intercede for the rebels. (Memoirs, 141-6)

wrath to moderation. (1) The nobles knew that these letters had come, and were aware of some of their contents, so the Queen, affecting to be gracious towards them, began to read them to several lords whom she had summoned. In the course of the reading, David openly warned her that she had read enough. He ordered her to stop. This action of his impressed the company more by its arrogance than its novelty, for they knew how imperiously he often behaved towards her, and occasionally reproved her more sharply than her husband would dare. (2)

Throughout this time, the case of the exiles was bitterly debated in parliament. (3) Some, to please the Queen, voted for their punishment as traitors. Others contended that they had as yet done nothing to deserve so

(1) The only letters from Elizabeth in this context which are still extant were written on 25 and 29 October, 1565. They were not long - two pages and one page respectively - and they announced her intention of sending ambassadors, who were, apparently, to offer substantial concessions in return for Mary's recognition of the Treaty of Edinburgh and the restitution of the exiles, particularly Moray. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 288, 289, 290) But Elizabeth soon changed her mind, and in November she ordered Randolph to inform Mary that the embassy would not be sent. (ibid, no. 308) Elizabeth wrote a longer letter to Mary on 24 February, 1566, in support of the exiles, but this was apparently never sent. (ibid, no. 345 and note)

(2) There is no other evidence for this incident.

(3) Parliament met on 7 March; there appears to have been little time for debate, for it was broken up on 10 March. (Mary to Beaton, 2 April, 1566, Keith, II, 411)

severe a punishment. Meanwhile David went around them individually, to plumb their minds, and discover what each would do if he were elected President by the rest of the assembly. (1) He did not shrink from openly declaring that the Queen wished them to be condemned; that whoever opposed it would be wasting their time, and above all would find themselves in disfavour with their ruler. He pursued this policy partly to confuse the weaker men between hope and fear; and partly to exclude the stronger lords from the number of chosen judges; at all events, to ensure that most of the judges would assent to everything the Queen desired. Many feared, while all hated, the power wielded by this upstart scoundrel. The King, by the advice of his father, sent for James Douglas and Patrick Lindsay, the one related to him through his father, the other through his mother. (2) These discussed the business with Patrick Ruthven, a man quick in both counsel and action, but who was so laid low by prolonged disease that for some months he had not risen from his bed. (3) They placed especial

(1) The text reads *προφωλος*. (Ruddiman, I, 619: Man, 518)
The President was similar to the modern Speaker, and was generally the Lord Chancellor. (Rait, Parliaments of Scotland, 399)

(2) James Douglas, earl of Morton, and Patrick, 6th lord Lindsay of the Byres.

(3) According to Ruthven, the plot was first broached to him on 10 February. (Relation, 1)

deny all that was done for his cause, and to allege that others persuaded him to the same; thought it necessary to have security thereon. (Relation, 20)

trust in him, in their affair, both because of his extreme prudence and because his children were cousins-german to the King. (1) These men reminded the King how he had erred in recent times: not only had he allowed his foremost friends and relations to be expelled for the sake of a vile rascal, but he had practically driven them away with his own hand, and so exalted a baseborn villain that he himself was now despised by him. They spoke with him also of many things concerning the state, and so prevailed with him that he frankly recognised his guilt, and avowed that in future he would undertake nothing without the consent of the nobility. But these men of much experience did not consider it safe to trust a young man who was wholly controlled by his wife, lest seduced by her caresses he might deny the pact, to their certain destruction. (2) They presented him with written articles which had been drawn up among them, all of which he freely and even eagerly subscribed. These were: that religion should be established as it had been provided at the Queen's return to Scotland; that the citizens recently exiled should be recalled, as the country could not easily do

(1) Ruthven's wife was a Douglas, and half-sister to Darnley's mother.

(2) Cf Ruthven: 'The earls and Lords considering he was a young Prince, and having a lusty Princess to lie in his arms afterwards, who might persuade him to deny all that was done for his cause, and to allege that others persuaded him to the same, thought it necessary to have security thereupon.' (Relation, 20)

without them; that David should be killed, as neither the dignity of the King nor the safety of the nobles could be preserved while he lived. (1)

All these terms were signed, and the King acknowledged himself the instigator of the murder. (2) In order to prevent the condemnation of the absent nobles, and the discovery of the plot through delay, it was resolved to commit the crime at once. (3) Therefore when the Queen was at supper in her small chamber, accompanied at table as usual by David and the Countess of Argyll, (4) with a few servants standing by (for the place would not hold many), James Douglas, earl of Morton, was walking in the outer chamber with a large number of his followers. (5)

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- (1) The articles are in Ruthven's Relation, 7-15, and Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 351. It should be noted that Buchanan makes no mention of the Crown Matrimonial, Darnley's chief object.
 - (2) Darnley's acknowledgement that he was the chief author of the plot is cited by Ruthven, dated 1 March. (Relation, 21)
 - (3) The murder was committed on 9 March, 1566.
 - (4) The Countess of Argyll was Mary's half-sister. Mary herself said that there were others at table. (Keith, II, 413)
 - (5) The number of men brought to the palace by the conspirators is not accurately known, but there were certainly more than 100, and there may have been as many as 500. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 436, 462; Keith, II, 414, Pitcairn, I, 481)

(Relation, 28-7) Buchanan's partiality for Darnley explains the transference.

Some of their most loyal friends and clients were ordered to keep watch in the open courtyard, and quell any tumult if one arose. (1) The King went up from his bedchamber, which was below the Queen's, by a narrow staircase, which was open to him alone. He was followed by Patrick Ruthven, armed, and accompanied by four, or at most five, men. They entered the supper chamber, and the unusual spectacle somewhat disturbed the Queen. Seeing Ruthven, dishevelled and haggard from long disease, yet armed, she demanded hotly what the matter was. For those who were present believed he was deranged by fever and not in control of himself. He ordered David to rise and come out, for the place where he sat was no proper place for him. The Queen at once rose, and put her body in the way, protecting him from them as they came forward. The King put his arms around her, and told her to rest assured. (2) There was nothing for her to fear: only the death of one scoundrel was decreed. David was dragged into the next chamber, and then into the outer

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- (1) The conspirators aimed at gaining possession of the whole palace. The men of Morton, Ruthven and Lindsay were 'in readiness' before the murder, 'abiding for the King's advertisement.' (Relation, 24)
(See Introduction, cxvii-cxviii)
- (2) Ruthven, according to the Relation, 'took the Queen in his arms, and put her into the King's arms, beseeching her Majesty not to be afraid.' (Cal. Scot. Record, Relation, 26-7) Buchanan's partiality for Darnley explains the transference.
there is reason to believe that the murder was planned to occur as it did. (See Introduction, cxlii following)
- (3) Paul de Foix reported that George Douglas was said to have struck the first blow. (Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, II, 113)

room. (1) There he was stabbed to death with many wounds, by those who were waiting along with Douglas; this was contrary to the wishes of those who had conspired the murder: they had planned to hang him publicly, for they knew that it would have provided a pleasing spectacle to the people. (2)

It is currently rumoured that John Damiet, a French priest commonly believed to be skilled in the art of magic, had frequently warned Riccio to take himself off, now that he had made his fortune, that he might escape the hatred of the nobles, whom he could not hope to equal. He replied that the Scots were better at threatening than fighting. Again, a few days before the murder, he was warned to beware of a bastard. He answered that as long as he lived the bastard should not have power enough in Scotland to cause him fear. He thought that the danger foretold for him was to come from Moray. But that prophecy was either fulfilled or evaded by George Douglas, bastard son of the earl of Angus, who struck him the first blow. (3) After that,

(1) Mary's own version is very different. She claimed that the conspirators struck at Riccio over her shoulders, and dispatched him 'at the entry' of her 'chamber.' (Keith, II, 414) But the evidence is not entirely contradictory. (See Introduction, cxxxvii-cxxxviii)

(2) Knox's continuator also says that they intended to hang Riccio (Knox, II, 179) as does Randolph. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 363) Ruthven also implies that the use of daggers was only the result of impatience. (Relation, 28) But there is reason to believe that the murder was planned to occur as it did. (See Introduction, cxlii following)

(3) Paul de Foix reported that George Douglas was said to have struck the first blow. (Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, II, 118)

everyone who stood near stabbed him, including the King, either to gratify his resentment or because he was eager to join the company of avengers. (1)

When the tumult spread over the whole palace, the earls of Huntly, Atholl and Bothwell, who were at supper in another part of the house, wanted to break away; but they were kept in their supper-chamber, without further harm, by those who patrolled the courtyard. (2) Ruthven went from the small chamber to the Queen's room, where he sat down, not having enough strength left to stand, and asked for something to drink. The Queen, in words born of fresh grief and anger, inveighed against him as a vile traitor, and among other things upbraided him for addressing her while she was standing and he was seated. He asked pardon, saying that it was from infirmity, not arrogance, that he did so. He earnestly advised her that in ruling the kingdom she should consult the nobility, who were concerned for the country's safety, rather than worthless tramps, who could give no pledge of their loyalty, since they had neither property nor reputation to lose. What had now happened was no new thing. The authority of Scottish kings derived from the law: the kingdom was not

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- (1) 'The King's whiniard was found sticking in Davie's side after he was dead.' (Relation, 45)
- (2) They escaped soon after - because, it seems, they feared Moray and Argyll, who arrived the next day. (Relation, 37; Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, II, 113)

(2) On 10th March, 1546. (Journal, 31; Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, II, 113)

accustomed to be ruled by the whims of one person, but according to the written law and the consent of the nobility. Any kings who attempted to overthrow this practice had paid dearly for their rashness. The Scots were not now so far fallen from the standards of their ancestors as calmly to allow a foreigner, hardly worthy to be a servant, not only to rule them but to reduce them to servitude. (1)

These words infuriated the Queen even more, however, and they went away, in case another and greater tumult might arise. But they placed guards at suitable places. Meanwhile the report spread over the whole town, where it was believed or not according to people's own inclination. Men flew to arms and ran straight to the palace. There the King addressed them from a window, assuring them that he and the Queen were safe, that there was no cause for disturbance, and that whatever had happened had been done by his command: the facts would be made known when he thought fit. At present each man should go home. All obeyed these orders, except a few who were retained to keep guard. (2)

Next morning the lords returned from England. (3) The first thing they did was to compear at the Tolbooth ready

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- (1) Ruthven advised the Queen 'to use the counsel of the nobility, and he was assured her government should be as well guided as ever it was in any King's days.' (Relation, 32) The rest of this speech is characteristic Buchanan rhetoric.
- (2) Cf Ruthven's Relation, 38; Keith, II, 418; and the Diurnal, 90-91. 'Two dozen and eleven' wax candles were used by the Edinburgh citizens when they went to see the Queen 'immediatle efter the slauchter.' (Edin.Burgh Records, III, 214)
- (3) On 10th March, 1566. (Diurnal, 91; Teulet Papiers d'État, II, 118)

for the hearing of their case, for this was the day appointed for the trial. (1) When no accuser appeared, they publicly declared that the trial had not been prevented by them, for they had offered themselves for judgment, and went each to his own lodging. The Queen sent for her brother, and spoke with him for some time. (2) She held out the hope that in future she would be under the authority of her nobles, and her custody was relaxed. Many had the foreboding that this clemency would work mischief to the nation. She reassembled her old guard; and that night went out through a postern accompanied by George Seton, who had brought two hundred horsemen. (3) First she went to his castle, and then to Dunbar. She took with her the King, whom she had struck with the fear of death if he did not obey. There she collected her forces and pretending to be reconciled to those recently returned from exile, she directed her assault against the murderers of David. (4)

(1) It was on Tuesday, 12 March - three days after the murder - that the lords made their protestation in the Tolbooth. (Diurnal, 93)

(2) It was on the Sunday, 10 March, that Mary sent for Moray. (Relation, 48; Keith, II, 419)

(3) The Queen left Holyrood during the night of 11-12 March. (Diurnal, 92; Relation, 57; Keith, II, 420) All other versions state that she was accompanied only by a few men, including Arthur Erskine. George, 5th lord Seton, the Queen's first Master of Household, was with Mary at Dunbar. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 363) But Buchanan is alone in stating that he convoyed the Queen from Holyrood. According to Nau, Mary was joined by loyal nobles at Seton castle. (Nau, 17)

(4) The Queen summoned the lieges to meet her at Haddington on 16, 17 and 18 March. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 436; Diurnal, 93-94; Relation, 59)

These yielded to the necessity of the times, and she returned to her former disposition, as if everything were now settled. (1) First of all she caused the body of David to be transferred by night from before the door of the neighbouring church, where it had been buried, and placed in the tomb of the late king and his children. (2) That action, especially, gave rise to unfavourable comments. For what stronger confession of adultery could be expected, than that she should try to treat a baseborn villain, a man without principle or distinction in public service, as equal to her father and her brothers in the final honour of burial? What was almost more abominable, she placed the foul creature almost in the arms of Magdalene de Valois, so recently the Queen. Meanwhile she continued to threaten and throw out veiled hints at her husband, and did all she could to deprive him of all standing in the eyes of men and make him as contemptible as she could. At the same time, the investigation of David's death was harshly pursued. Many of those who were found privy to the deed were banished; more were fined. Some, who were almost guiltless, and so more easily captured, paid the supreme

(1) On 17 March, Morton fled to the West Border, Ruthven to Berwick, and Lindsay to Fife. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 363)

(2) This story appears in the Report of Paul de Foix, 20 March, 1566. (Teulet, Papiers d'État, II, 119) but another passage of the Report reveals that de Foix was relying upon hearsay (his first account of the murder is garbled.) The story was certainly current. (C.S.P.For., 1566-8, nos. 297, 298) But there is no reason to believe it. (See Keith, II, 517, n. 2)

penalty. (1) But the leaders sought refuge, some in England, some in the Scottish highlands. The magistrates and all holders of public offices who were in the least suspected, were removed, and their places taken by their enemies. (2) A proclamation was made forbidding any to say that the King had any part in or knowledge of the murder of David. (3) This, even in the midst of so much public sorrow, met with some derision. When this public upheaval was somewhat allayed, by the middle of April, the earls of Argyll and Moray were received into favour. (4) The Queen herself, as the time of her delivery drew nearer, retired into Edinburgh castle; and on 19 June, a little after nine o'clock in the morning, she gave birth to a son, later to be known as James VI. (5)

morning she went down

accompanied, and without talking anyone

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- (1) Over 60 men were outlawed; three were condemned to death, but later reprieved; several more were pardoned within a few weeks. Only two were hanged. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 436, 437; Diurnal, 95-100; Pitcairn, I, 480 ff)
- (2) Cf Diurnal, 97: those suspected were soon released.
- (3) The proclamation to this effect was issued on 21 March. (Diurnal, 96)
- (4) As early as 1 April, Robert Melville told Elizabeth that Moray, Argyll, Glencairn and Rothes had 'obtained favour and pardon.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 367) They obtained presence of the Queen on 21 April. (Diurnal, 99)
- (5) Killigrew reported on 24 and 25 June that the prince was born between 10 and 11 a.m. (Diurnal, 100; Melville, Memoirs, 158, etc.)
- (2) This is taken verbatim from the Diurnal, I, 66) The statement occurs also in Scottish Articles. (Hosack, 529)

not only the majesty of a king but even the modesty of a married woman. BOOK XVIII.

When the King heard of his unexpected departure, he followed by land as far as he could, with the hope and purpose of being alone with her, that he might enjoy his conjugal rights. (2) But as if he were an unwelcome intruder upon their pleasures, he was ordered to return whence he came, herself and her companions let it be known by their remarks and their attitude that they wished to make it quite clear that he himself was regarded with disgust and his visits and presence were not welcome. (1) On the other hand,

Bothwell was everything: he alone managed all affairs, and so much did the Queen wish to display her partiality for him, that no request was granted unless presented through him. (2) And as if she feared that her favour might be unseen, one morning she went down to the port called Newhaven, slenderly accompanied, and without telling anyone where she was going, embarked on a ship which lay in readiness. It had been got ready by William and Edmond Blackadder, Edward Robertson and Thomas Dickson, all Bothwell's men and notorious pirates. Accompanied by these scoundrels, then, to the astonishment of all good men, she put to sea, attended by not one honest servant. The ship sailed to Alloa, where in the castle of the earl of Mar she conducted herself as if she had forgotten

(1) Killigrew reported on 24 and 28 June that Darnley was not in favour. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 400, 402)

(2) This is taken verbatim from the Detectio. (Ruddiman, I, 66) The statement occurs also in the Book of Articles. (Hosack, 524)

not only the majesty of a queen but even the modesty of a married woman. (1)

When the King heard of her unexpected departure, he followed by land as fast as he could, with the hope and purpose of being alone with her, that he might enjoy his conjugal rights. (2) But as if he were an unwelcome intruder upon their pleasures, he was ordered to return whence he came, hardly being allowed time to refresh his servants. (3) A few days after, (4) the Queen returned to Edinburgh, and apparently to avoid the crowd, she stayed not in her palace

- (1) This repeats the Detectio and the Book of Articles. Mary left for Alloa after 24 July, and was there on 28 July. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 473, 475) She almost certainly was better accompanied than Buchanan claims. Nau says that she spent some time as the guest of the earl of Mar. (Nau, 29) According to Bedford the Queen went to Alloa to meet Lethington and receive him back to favour. (Stevenson's Selections, 163) Holinshed says that besides Bothwell and Mar, Moray accompanied the Queen. (Holinshed, I, 503) Lethington was certainly in that district on 28 July. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 419) The sailors mentioned by Buchanan were Bothwell's men. Far from being a pirate at this time, Captain William Blackadder was on 2 Sept. 1566 appointed 'general and universall sercheour' to the Crown, with power to 'serche, seik, apprehend and tak all and sindrie pirattis, sey thevis, rubbaris, pilliaris, rebellis and malefactouris upoun the seyis.' (R.S.S., V, no. 3046) He was tried and executed for the murder of Darnley on 14 June, 1567. (Pitcairn, I, 490)
- (2) According to Bedford, the Queen left the Castle without telling Darnley. (Stevenson's Selections, 165) In the Indictment, Buchanan says that Darnley went to Alloa by way of Stirling. (Mahon, Indictment, 34)
- (3) Nau says that Darnley stayed only a few hours. (Nau, 29)
- (4) 31 July, 1566.

prevailed to restore their former intimacy; so he retired but in the nearby home of a private citizen in the neighbourhood. (1) From there she transferred to another house, where the court of exchequer was held yearly, not (as it is believed) to enjoy the spacious house and the gardens which lay next to it, but because next door lived David Chambers, one of Bothwell's men, whose back door was near the Queen's garden; (2) through which Bothwell had access whenever he chose. (3) Meanwhile the King, unable to retain any place in his wife's affections, was driven away with insults and reproaches. (4) He often tried to regain the Queen's regard, but no attention, no endeavour

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- (1) Buchanan has omitted the hunting trips of the Queen and her court to Meggatland and Glenartney, in the latter part of August. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 425) (For discussion of the reason for this omission, see Introduction, cliv) The private house mentioned is said to be that of John Balfour.
- (2) David Chalmers of Ormond, the historian, was a bitter opponent of Buchanan's political principles. He was named as a murderer of Darnley in the placards of February, 1567. He fought for the Queen at Langside. (See Brunton and Haig, 123)
- (3) The Queen spent some time at Stirling with Darnley and others of the court, and returned to Edinburgh in the first week of September. (Keith, II, 447) Her visit to the Exchequer House was on state business - to 'understand her revenues' and arrange for the maintenance of the prince. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 706) Buchanan's allegations of scandalous behaviour between the Queen and Bothwell at this time are absurd. (See Introduction, cliii ff)
- (4) This is false. Darnley refused to accompany the Queen to Edinburgh. He arrived some days later, but would not enter the palace because some of his enemies were with the Queen. Mary behaved 'le mieux qu'elle peut,' went to meet him and lodged him overnight in her chamber. (Letter of the Lords of Council to Catherine de Medicis, Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, II, 139 ff) Buchanan's original description of the Queen's court, given in the Detectio. (Riddiman, I, 88) See Introduction, cliv ff.

prevailed to restore their former intimacy; so he retired to Stirling as to solitude. Soon after, the Queen decided to go to Jedburgh to hold a Justice Ayre. (1)

About the beginning of October Bothwell set out on an expedition to Liddisdale. There he behaved in a manner unworthy of the place he held, the dignity of his family and the expectations of men. He was wounded by a petty thief whom he had almost killed by a shot after the man had been captured and made helpless. He was carried to the Hermitage castle, wounded and in danger of his life. (2) When news of this was brought to the Queen at Borthwick, she flew to Melrose and then to Jedburgh, though it was the depth of winter. (3) There, though told that Bothwell's life was safe, she could not restrain her impatience. In a bad time of the year, contemptuous of the difficult roads and danger of thieves, she set out on the journey, accompanied by a train to which no gentleman of moderate circumstances would have dared to commit his life and property. (4) From there

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- (1) The Queen left Edinburgh for Jedburgh on 7 October. (Diurnal, 100) The Justice Ayre was appointed for 9 October. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 476)
- (2) Bothwell was wounded on 7 October. (Diurnal, 100) The account of the incident in the Diurnal does not suggest dishonourable conduct on Bothwell's part. The wound was received in the course of his duty as Lieutenant of the Borders.
- (3) The Queen learned of Bothwell's injury while she was in Jedburgh. (Teulet, op. cit., II, 150) She did not visit the Hermitage until 15 October. (Diurnal, 101) This was more than a week after Bothwell's accident. October is seldom the 'depth of winter,' even in Scotland.
- (4) This is a toned-down version of Buchanan's original description of the Queen's escort, given in the Detectio. (Ruddiman, I, 68) See Introduction, clvi ff.

she returned again to Jedburgh, and with great care and diligence prepared to have Bothwell transferred to that place. When he arrived, their meetings and behaviour were beyond all propriety. (1) Then, whether because of her exertions by day and night, or by some mysterious power of fate, she fell into so severe and painful an illness that there was almost no hope for her life. (2)

When the King learned of this he set out with the utmost haste for Jedburgh. (3) He wished both to see the Queen and to demonstrate his affection and desire to please her, and at the same time to make her repent of her behaviour and (as often happens in times of great danger) turn to a more decent way of life. She, on the contrary, not only gave him no sign of favour, but saw to it that no one should rise when he entered, that no one should greet him, or show him any courtesy, or even offer him a single night's lodging. She suspected the friendly and courteous disposition of Moray, and urged his

(1) Bothwell was brought to Jedburgh on a litter about 21 October. (Keith, III, 289) On 25 October he was able to attend a meeting of the Privy Council. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 490)

(2) The Queen fell sick on 17 October, two days after her journey to the Hermitage. (Keith, III, 284) She was still very ill on 25 October. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 434, 435)

(3) Darnley was hunting in the West when the Queen fell ill. (Diurnal, 101) He arrived in Jedburgh on 28 October: more than ten days after the onset of Mary's illness. (ibid) This does not suggest haste on his part, though there is no clear indication that he received early intimation of the illness. (For a discussion of the

(2) evidence, see Introduction, clvii ff), and in time on 11 November. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 435) She passed Berwick on 15 November, and reached Coldingham on 17 November. On 20 November she reached Craigmillar, having called at Dunbar and Tantallon. (Keith, II, 408-71;

wife to hurry home, pretend to be sick and at once go to bed, that at least on the pretext of ill-health she might prevent the King's being lodged there. And she would have succeeded in forcing him to leave for want of a lodging, had not one of the Hume family, in very shame, pretended suddenly that he had to go away, and left his lodging empty for the King. Next morning he was ordered off, and returned to Stirling. (1) His departure seemed the more shameful because at the same time Bothwell was openly transferred from the house where he had been lodging to the Queen's apartments. Though neither was fully recovered, she from her sickness or he from his wound, they travelled first to Kelso, then to Coldingham, and presently to Craigmillar, a castle about two miles from Edinburgh. (2) They paid no heed to the rumours that followed them everywhere they went. The Queen openly declared in conversation that she could not live unless she were separated from the King, and if no other means were possible, she would take her own life. In these discussions she often brought up the subject of divorce, and affirmed that it would not be difficult, if the Pope's dispensation, which had allowed

(1) At his arrival, according to the Diurnal, he 'was not so well entertained as need should have been, and upon the 29 day he returned therefrom without tarrying to Edinburgh, and thereafter passed to Stirling.' (Diurnal, 101-2) Buchanan's story is in the Detectio and the Book of Articles. (Ruddiman, I, 68-9; Hosack, 525) See Introduction, clxx.

(2) The Queen was in Kelso on 10 November, and in Hume on 11 November. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 438) She passed Berwick on 15 November, and reached Coldingham on 17 November. On 20 November she reached Craigmillar, having called at Dunbar and Tantallon. (Keith, II, 469-71; Diurnal, 102)

their marriage contrary to Papal law, were cancelled. (1)

But when she did not seem likely to procure what she had hoped for (for the affair was discussed by many of the nobility at court) she gave up all other ideas, and set her mind on the murder of the King.

A little before the winter solstice ambassadors arrived from France and England to witness the Prince's baptism. (2) The Queen did her best, not only by spending money, but also by her own care and industry, to make Bothwell appear the most magnificently dressed of all her subjects and guests. (3) Meanwhile her own lawful husband was not only deprived of the necessary apparel for his son's christening, but was forbidden to appear in the presence of the ambassadors. (4) The servants who daily attended him were dismissed. The nobility were forbidden to take notice of him. But when the nobles saw how implacable the Queen had been of late towards her husband, they tended rather to

(1) This is Buchanan's only reference to the 'Craigmillar Conference.' See Introduction, clx.

(2) The ambassadors were the comte de Brienne, who arrived on 2 November, and the earl of Bedford, who arrived on 10 December. (Diurnal, 102; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 453) The baptism took place in Stirling on 17 December, 1566.

(3) Mary certainly presented officiating robes to Bothwell. But other lords concerned in the ceremony were similarly equipped. (Robertson's Inventories, 61, 63, 69; C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 850)

(4) Du Croc refused to meet Darnley at Stirling, on the grounds that he had been forbidden to do so by the King of France. (Keith, I, XCVII) It should be noted, too, that Darnley was still not recognised as King by England.

(3) This repeats the Delectio and the Book of Articles. (Riddiman, I, 70; Annals, 627)

to pity the mild young man, who bore all this contempt not only patiently but with constant endeavour to soothe her unjust anger, almost servile in his humble efforts to gain some favour with her. With regard to his dress, she used an impudent and plainly false excuse, throwing the blame on the goldsmiths, embroiderers and other craftsmen, which everyone knew was her own. On the other hand, she worked with her own hands for the adornment of Bothwell. The foreign ambassadors were even warned not to hold communication with the King, though they passed the greater part of the day in the same castle. (1)

When the young man, thus harshly treated, saw himself scorned by all and his rival set up to his face as an object of universal respect, he decided to retire to his father in Glasgow; some think that he was sent for. (2) The Queen followed his retreating figure with her wonted malice. All the silver plate which he had used ever since marriage was at once taken away, and pewter put in its place. (3)

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- (1) These allegations repeat the Detectio and the Book of Articles. (Ruddiman, I, 70; Hosack, 526) It is true that Darnley played no part in the baptismal ceremonies. (See the account in the Diurnal, 103-4) But the real reason for his absence, as the Lennox MSS make clear, was his fear of his enemies, especially now that the Queen had pardoned Morton. (Mahon, Mary Queen of Scots, 124)
- (2) According to the Lennox MSS, Darnley left Stirling because his father warned him of a rumour that he was to be put in ward. (Mahon, op. cit., 124) The rumour certainly existed, and Lennox's warning is authenticated by the Queen herself. (Keith, I, C.)
- (3) This repeats the Detectio and the Book of Articles. (Ruddiman, I, 70; Hosack, 527)

Further, poison was administered to him before he left, as if the crime would be the better concealed if he died while absent from court. But the poison took effect sooner than the poisoners had expected. For before he was a mile out of Stirling, so violent a disorder suddenly struck every part of his body, that it was easily seen that the disease was caused not by accident but by human deceit. When he arrived at Glasgow, the violence of the illness made itself more apparent; for livid pustules broke out, accompanied by so much pain and vexation in his whole body that little hope remained of saving his life. James Abernethy, a most trustworthy and hardworking man, and a physician of great skill and experience, was consulted as to the ailment, and at once pronounced that he had been given poison. (1) The Queen's household physician had been sent for, but she herself forbade him to go, because she feared that by his attentions the sick man might escape death. (2)

The baptismal ceremonies drew to a close, and the crowd gradually broke up. The Queen sought solitude practically alone with Bothwell, spending several days at the homes of

(1) The rumour that Darnley had been poisoned was widespread. (Birrel's Diary, 6; Melville Memoirs, 173) It was false, however. The disease was smallpox. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 461; Diurnal, 105)

(2) Bedford reported that Mary had sent her physician. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 461)

(3) She came to Stirling with the palace on 11 January 1567. (Diurnal, 105)

the noblemen Drummond and Tullibardine. (1) About the beginning of January she returned to Stirling. (2) Daily she pretended to be on the point of going to Glasgow, while she awaited news of the King's death. In this uncertain state of affairs, she decided to get her son into her own hands. That her design might be less suspected, she began to complain that the house in which the child was being raised was unsuitable, because there was a danger of rheumatism for him in so damp and cold a place. But that she had other reasons in mind was easily perceived, because the evils which were to be avoided by a change of residence were far greater in the palace to which he was taken, which was damp in the foundations, situated in a marsh, and cut off from the sun by the opposite hills. So the child, hardly entered upon his seventh month, was brought to Edinburgh in a bitter winter. (3) There she learned that the King was recovering, and had overcome the virulence of the poison by the vigour of his youth and the natural strength of his body. Once again she proceeded to plan his death, and even admitted some noblemen to knowledge of her criminal intent.

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- (1) David, 2nd lord Drummond, and Sir William Murray of Tullibardine. The Queen visited Drymen, home of Drummond, about 28 December. On 30 December she had returned to Stirling. On 31 December she was at Tullibardine. On 1 January she returned to Stirling. (R.S.S., V, nos. 3155, 3157)
- (2) The Queen was in Stirling on 3 January, 1567. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 459)
- (3) She came to Edinburgh with the prince on 14 January, 1567. (Diurnal, 105)

Meanwhile it had been reported to the Queen that the King contemplated flight to France or Spain, and that he had conferred on the subject with certain Englishmen who had a ship standing in the Firth of Clyde. (1) Some believed that this offered a good opportunity for the Queen to summon him, and if he refused to come, openly to put him to death. There were some ready to do the deed. Others recommended that the crime should be committed secretly. All agreed that it should be done in haste, before he had fully recovered. The Queen, having no fears for her son, decided to proceed herself to Glasgow, that she might have her husband also in her power, though as yet she was not certain as to the nature of execution designed for him. (2) The suspicions of recent months had been sufficiently removed, she thought, by her frequent loving letters. (3) But the facts belied the loyalty of her letters. For on the journey

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- (1) Darnley had made no secret of his threat to go abroad. As early as the previous September Lennox had warned the Queen of his son's plans. Mary, du Croc and the Privy Councillors had all discussed the threat with Darnley, without avail. The interviews are described in letters to France. (Teulet, op. cit., 139 ff; Keith, II, 448 ff) According to the Lennox MSS, Darnley went to Glasgow determined to take ship for overseas, but illness prevented this. (Mahon, op. cit., 124)
- (2) The Queen left for Glasgow on 20 January, 1567. (Diurnal, 105; Birrel, 6)
- (3) There is no mention of these loving letters in the Detectio. Buchanan seems to have taken this from the Lennox MSS. (Mahon, Mary, Queen of Scots, 125) In the second Casket Letter there is mention of correspondence between the Queen and Darnley, but it is implied that these letters were not affectionate. (Henderson, 127) Mary's letter to Beaton, 20 January, 1567, suggests that Mary was far from loving towards her husband at this time. (Keith, I, C1)

she was almost wholly accompanied by Hamiltons and other family enemies of the King. (1) Meanwhile she entrusted the management of the affair in Edinburgh to the care of Bothwell. That seemed the most suitable place for undertaking the crime, and concealing it, for there in the great concourse of noblemen the suspicion of murder could be turned upon someone else, or spread over many. The Queen tried everything to conceal her hatred, and at last, after many rebukes, complaints and lamentations on this side and that, she induced in him a belief in her sincerity. (2)

The King, not yet fully recovered from his illness, was brought on a litter to Edinburgh, to the place which had been made ready for his murder by Bothwell, who in the Queen's absence had undertaken that task. (3) This was a house which had been deserted for several years, situated next to the city walls, in a desolate place between two ruined churches, where neither outcry nor disturbance

(1) This allegation is from the Detectio (Ruddiman, I, 71) and the Admonition. (Vernacular Writings, 30) It seems to derive solely from Letter Two. (Henderson, 128) The Book of Articles and 'Moray's Journal' do not mention it, stating only that the Queen was accompanied as far as Callendar by Bothwell and Huntly. (Hosack, 533; Laing, II, 86)

(2) That a reconciliation of some kind was reached is confirmed by the report of M. de Clerneau, (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 473) and by Lennox. (Mahon, Mary, Queen of Scots, 126-7)

(3) Various dates are given for their arrival in Edinburgh: 30 January ('Moray's Journal', Laing, II, 87); 31 January (Birrel, 6); and 1 February (Diurnal, 105). One of the two last is more likely to be correct. The mention of the litter is from the Book of Articles.

could be overheard. (1) Into this the King was thrust with a few servants. The majority of his servants, whom the Queen had set about him as spies on all his sayings and doings, went away, knowing of the imminent danger. (2) Those who remained could not get possession of the keys to the doors from those who had prepared the lodging. (3) The Queen above all tried to remove all suspicion from herself, and so succeeded in her pretence that the King, now wholly convinced of her goodwill towards him, wrote a letter to his father, who had remained sick at Glasgow, full of hope and trust; he mentioned the Queen's kindness to him, and the evidences of her pure and sincere regard, and soberly asserted that everything seemed to promise him a change for the better. While he was writing, the Queen unexpectedly came in, and read the letter. She kissed him and embraced him many times, and simulated delight in seeing

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- (1) Darnley's lodging at Kirk O' Field was neither so mean nor so deserted as is here implied. See the reconstruction in Mahon's Tragedy of Kirk O' Field.
- (2) Buchanan here contradicts his earlier statement that the Queen deprived Darnley of his servants. (supra, 111)
- (3) The problem of the keys is one of the curious contradictions in Buchanan's account of the crime. (See the discussion of the evidence in Mahon, Tragedy of Kirk O' Field) According to Nelson, Darnley's servant, the keys in question were kept by the King's servants until the Queen came to sleep in the house, when two keys, that of the 'postern' and that of the door connecting the two bedrooms, were handed over to the Queen's servant. (Anderson's Collections, IV, 165 ff) Buchanan's allegation that the keys were in the hands of the Queen's servants before Darnley entered the house is without corroboration.

that now no shadow of suspicion remained in his mind. (1)

Everything in that direction now seemed satisfactory, and her next anxiety was to put the whole crime, if possible, on other shoulders. Therefore she summoned her brother Moray, who had recently taken leave of absence, and was on the point of starting for St. Andrews to visit his wife, who was reported to be in great danger of her life. She was with child, and her whole body was wracked with the disease of smallpox. The Queen pretended that she wished her brother to remain because she wanted to take honourable leave of the Duke of Savoy's ambassador, who had come too late for the Prince's baptism. Though this seemed a scarcely valid reason for recalling him from so dutiful and necessary a task, he obeyed. (2)

Meanwhile the Queen daily visited the King. She reconciled

(1) The story of this letter is taken from the Lennox MSS. It is not in any other libel. Here is the text, as given by Lennox: 'My Lord, I have thought good to write unto you by this bearer of my good health, I thank God. Which is the sooner come to, through the good treatment of such as hath this good while concealed her goodwill, I mean of my love the Queen. Which I assure you hath all this while and yet doth, use herself like a natural and loving wife. I hope yet that God will lighten our hearts with joy that hath so long been afflicted with trouble. As I in this letter do write unto your Lordship so I trust this bearer can certify you the like. Thus thanking Almighty God of our hap, I commit your Lordship into his protection. From Edinburgh the VII of February, your loving and obedient son, Henry Rex.' (Mahon, Mary, Queen of Scots, 127)

(2) This is from the Detectio. (Ruddiman, I, 71-2) The ambassador was Morette, who arrived in Scotland too late for the baptism. (C.S.P. Venetian, 1558-80, nos. 378, 384)

him to Bothwell, whom she wished to be free from suspicion. She freely promised her favour in the future. This pretence of kindness was much suspected by all, but yet no one dared warn the King of his danger: for he used to tell the Queen everything he was told by anyone else, in order to gain more favour with her. But there was one, Robert, the Queen's brother, (1) who either from horror of the crime or moved by pity for the young man, dared to tell him of his wife's treachery; but on one condition, that he kept the knowledge to himself, and looked to his own safety as well he could. The King, as was his custom, reported this to the Queen. Robert was called in, and he firmly denied the allegation. Each gave the other the lie, and both laid their hands on their swords. This spectacle pleased the Queen, as it seemed that her purpose would soon be fulfilled without effort or trouble on her part. She summoned her other brother James, ostensibly to settle the quarrel, but actually in the hope that he also would perish on the same occasion; for there was no witness of the affair except Bothwell, who would sooner have made an end to the weaker party, than separate the combatants. This was sufficiently clear from his remark that there no need to send so hastily for

(1) Lord Robert of Holyroodhouse.

James, to separate men so little inclined to fight. (1)

This disturbance was mutually adjusted. The Queen and Bothwell then turned all their attention to the murder-plot, and how they could transact the business most secretly. The Queen pretended love for her husband, and oblivion of past offences. She ordered her own bed to be brought from the palace and placed in the chamber below that of the King. (2) There she lay for several nights, sitting up late in conversation with him. Meanwhile she did not cease to think up every method possible of turning the blame of the crime, once it had been committed, on her brother James and the earl of Morton. For when these two, whom she feared and hated on account of their integrity and authority, had been eliminated, everything else, she assured herself, would arrange itself. In this the letters of the Pope and Charles Cardinal of Lorraine encouraged her. For the previous summer she had petitioned the Pope through her uncle for money with which to overthrow the established religion in

(1) This incident is mentioned in the Detection and the Book of Articles, but neither of these mention the cause of the quarrel. (Ruddiman, I, 71; Hosack, 535) A holograph letter purporting to prove that Mary fostered by lies a quarrel between the two men was shown to the English Commissioners at York. (Letter of 11 October, 1568, Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 854) This letter seems to have been withdrawn from the evidence presented at Westminster. (ibid, nos. 912, 913) Melville mentions the quarrel, probably taking the story from Buchanan. (Memoirs, 174) The incident occurred either on the Friday or the Saturday before the murder - the actual date is controverted. (See Introduction, clxvii)

(2) A few pieces of furniture were sent from the Palace to Kirk o' Field House at the beginning of February, 1567, including a small bed for the Queen's chamber on the lower floor. (Robertson's Inventories, 19, 29, 33, etc.)

Britain, and they - the Pope with some secrecy, the Cardinal openly - urged her to put to death those who most resisted the return of popery; and mentioned them by name, in particular those two to whom I have referred. They had promised a vast sum of money for prosecuting the struggle, once these men had been killed. The Queen believed that rumours of this had reached the lords. So she showed them the letters, thinking that thus she would purge herself of suspicion of intending evil against them. (1) But this scheme, contrived with such apparent subtlety, was somewhat upset at the very outset, for frequent news from Moray's wife told him that she had had a miscarriage, and that little hope remained of her life. These tidings were brought to him on the Sunday, as he was going to church, and he returned to the Queen to ask leave to go home. She strongly urged him to wait another day for more certain news; for if the illness progressed, his arrival would do no good, and if

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- (1) William Chisolm, bishop of Dunblane, was sent to Rome to ask for a papal subsidy in the spring of 1566. The Pope promised to send aid against the heretics; and in June the nuncio Vincenzo Laureo, bishop of Mondovi, arrived in Paris with the money. In September, 1566, John Beaton carried a first instalment to Scotland. (Pollen, Papal Negotiations, 234, 237, 276; Keith, II, 468) The Pope ordered Laureo to disburse no more until Mary had demonstrated her sincerity in wishing to restore Catholicism. Laureo and the Cardinal of Lorraine wrote Mary urging her to execute the protestant political leaders, specifying six; Moray, Argyll, Morton, Lethington, Balenden and Macgill. Mary refused, but held out the hope that the Catholic baptism of the prince would stimulate the Roman faith. (Pollen, op. cit., 285, 314, 278, 321, 327) Buchanan's knowledge of the correspondence suggests that the Queen confided the information at least to Moray.

it abated, the next morning would be time enough. But Moray insisted on setting out on his journey. (1)

The Queen, who had planned the murder for that day, wanted to seem wholly at her ease, so she attended the marriage of Bastien, one of her singers, during the day, in the palace. (2) Having spent the evening in games and celebration, she came to visit her husband with a fairly large following. (3) There she spoke with him, more cheerfully than usual, for a few hours. She often kissed him, and she gave him a ring. (4) After the Queen had gone away, the King talked over the events of the day with the few servants who remained. Among other remarks calculated to raise his spirits, he remembered a few words which somewhat spoiled his enjoyment. For, either because her expectation of accomplishing the crime made her unable to conceal her exultation, or because the words slipped out

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- (1) Sunday, 9 February, 1567. This repeats the Detectio. (Ruddiman, I, 71, 72) According to Melville, Moray left court several days before the murder. (Memoirs, 174) There is no other evidence of Moray's movements at this time.
- (2) Bastien Pages was one of the Queen's valets de chambre. His bride was engaged as a femme de chambre after the marriage. (Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, II, 127, 138)
- (3) According to Clerneau, the principal nobles of the court attended the Queen on the visit. They arrived at about 7 p.m. and stayed two or three hours. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 473)
- (4) That Mary gave Darnley a ring is not in the Detectio, but it is mentioned by Lennox, (Mahon, Mary, Queen of Scots, 128) the Book of Articles, (Hosack, 536) and by Morette. (C.S.P. Venetian, 1558-80, no. 384; C.S.P. Spanish, 1558-67, no. 408)

unintentionally, she let fall the remark that it was about that time last year that David Riccio had been murdered. (1) No one liked this unmeet recollection of past crime, but the night was far spent, and the next morning was to be devoted to games and amusement, so they went quickly off to bed. (2) Meanwhile in the room below gunpowder had been placed to blow up the house. (3) Everything seemed to have been arranged carefully and cunningly, but they let a trivial circumstance reveal no trivial indication of the crime. For the bed in which the Queen had slept for some nights was carried away, and an inferior one substituted in its place - amid such notorious extravagance, they grudged a trifling sum of money! (4) In the middle of the evening's proceedings,

(1) This story is taken from the Lennox MSS. (Mahon, op. cit. 128)

(2) According to Lennox, Darnley was to have been moved to the Palace on the next day, Monday. (Mahon, op. cit., 127) The same information was reported by Giovanni Correr, on the authority of Morette. (C.S.P. Venetian, 1558-80, no. 384)

(3) The various libels and depositions do not agree as to the location of the gunpowder. (See Introduction, clxviii)

(4) This story is not in the Detectio. It has been taken from the Book of Articles (Hosack, 536) and the Lennox MSS. (Mahon, op. cit., 127) But both the Book of Articles and Lennox state that it was the King's bed which was removed. Lennox says that the Queen explained that the good bed would be used by them both in the Palace the next night. Nelson in his deposition said that the King's bed was removed so as not to spoil it with the King's baths. (Anderson's Collections, IV, 165)

(Pollen, op. cit., 358) Mary herself told Benton that it was mere chance that prevented her staying overnight at Kirk o' Field, 'be reason of sunn mask in the Abbaye.' (Keith, I, 411)

(3) The earlier libels mention only one group of conspirators. (See Introduction, clxix)

the Frenchman Paris, one of her rascally servants, entered the King's chamber and placed himself, silently, so that he could be seen by the Queen. (1) That was the signal agreed upon, that everything was ready. As soon as she saw Paris, the Queen pretended that she had just remembered Bastien's wedding, and blamed herself for her negligence, because she had not gone to the masked ball that evening as she had promised, and had not seen the bride to her bed, as was the custom. With this remark she rose and went home. (2) On her return to the palace, she spoke for a considerable time with Bothwell. He was at length dismissed. He returned to his own chamber, changed his clothes, put on a military cloak, and passing through the guard, returned to the town with a few attendants. Two other groups of the conspirators came to the appointed place by different routes. (3) A few of them went into the King's chamber, the keys of which, as I said before, were in their possession. They fell upon him as he slumbered, and strangled him, along with one of his

(1) Nicolas Hubert, called Paris, was at this time a valet de chambre of the Queen. (Teulet, op. cit., II, 127) This story is taken from the Detectio and the Book of Articles. (Ruddiman, I, 72; Hosack, 536)

(2) This is taken from the Detectio and the Book of Articles. (Ruddiman, I, 72; Hosack, 536) Clerneau's statement that the Queen was already masked while with Darnley suggests that she had only temporarily left the festivities. (Pollen, op. cit., 358) Mary herself told Beaton that it was mere chance that prevented her staying overnight at Kirk o' Field, 'be reason of sum mask in the Abbaye.' (Keith, I, C11)

(3) The earlier libels mention only one group of conspirators. (See Introduction, clxix)

servants, who slept on a little bed nearby. (1) They carried the strangled bodies through a postern which they had made through the town wall for this purpose and into an adjacent garden. (2) Then they set fire to the gunpowder, and blew up the house from its foundations, with so great an explosion that several neighbouring houses were shaken, and people who slept in the furthestmost parts of the town were awakened, bewildered and alarmed. After the crime, Bothwell left by way of the ruined town walls, and returned by a different route from that by which he had come, through the guard of the palace.

This for several days was the general report of the King's death. The Queen, who had been up waiting for the event of that night, called together the lords who were then in the palace, among them Bothwell. By their advice, as if unaware of all that had occurred, she sent to inquire into the cause of the disturbance. Some of them went to look into the outrage. The King was lying with his shirt covering the upper part of his body, the rest naked. Next him lay the rest of his clothes, even his slippers. The people flocked to see him, and formed different theories. But no one could bring

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- (1) This is a major departure from the earlier versions, in which it is assumed that Darnley was killed by the explosion. (See Introduction, clxx)
- (2) The allegation that a special postern had been made in the Town Wall for this purpose is absurd. (See Mahon's analysis of the evidence, Tragedy of Kirk o' Field) There is a contemporary drawing of the scene showing the postern. An interesting reconstruction of this drawing may be found in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, LXVI, 140.

contributed to this conjecture. It was known that bitter himself to believe what Bothwell so eagerly wanted them enmity existed between the families. The bishop had never to think - that the force of the explosion had thrown him been really reconciled to the Queen before this crime began through the roof. (1) For on his whole body there was no to be contemplated, but recently he had persuaded her to fracture, wound or bruise (as there must have been after so Glasgow, and had taken part in her most secret counsels. much destruction) and the clothes lying near him were not suspicion was increased against the man, because he only not burned or marked with the powder, but seemed to have had taken up residence in the house of the late Earl of Arran, the nearest house to that in which King had been killed, when always before he had been the Queen, who went after to her chamber, and for much of the fashionable part of the town, where he would have been next day she lay in deep and tranquil sleep. (2)

Meanwhile rumours had been spread by the regicides to from the highest parts of the town a light and great alarm the effect that the King had been murdered by means of Moray had been seen in his house throughout the night. and Morton. (3) The story was carried to the English the explosion assumed, the light had been put out, and his border before dawn. (4) Yet everyone silently believed that men, many of whom had kept armed watch, were forbidden to the Queen had been the author of the crime. Nor was the go out. When the true story of the event came out after bishop of St. Andrews free from rumour. Many factors many months, many of these circumstances, which had merely

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- (1) Since no one could suppose that the explosion had not been contrived by the murderers, there seems little point in Bothwell's alleged anxiety to hide the real cause of death.
- (2) According to the Detectio and the Book of Articles, the Queen slept until noon on the Monday. (Ruddiman, I, 73; Hosack, 537)
- (3) It is certain that Moray's name was associated with the crime shortly after it occurred. 13 March, 1567, he wrote Cecil denying any knowledge of the crime. (Pollen, op. cit., 364-66; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 484) That Morton was suspected of complicity is well authenticated. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 678, 914, etc.)
- (4) This is confirmed by Drury's letter to Cecil, 11 February, 1567. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 943) Drury's letter was written early in the morning.

is so, however, the Archbishop would have seen nothing of Darnley's lodging, as the Provost's house stood between. (See Henry F. Kerr's Reconstruction, in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, LXVI, 130)

contributed to this conjecture. It was known that bitter enmity existed between the families. The bishop had never been really reconciled to the Queen before this crime began to be contemplated, but recently he had accompanied her to Glasgow, and had taken part in her most secret counsels. Suspicion was increased against the man, too, because he had taken up residence in the house of his relative the earl of Arran, the nearest house to that in which the King had been killed, when always before he had dwelt in the fashionable part of the town, where he could best indulge in visiting, and gather fruits of social pleasures. Further, from the highest parts of the town a light and night-watch had been seen in his house throughout the night. And when the explosion sound~~ed~~, the light had been put out; and his men, many of whom had kept armed watch, were forbidden to go out. When the true story of the event came out after many months, many of these circumstances, which had merely seemed suspicious, were later held to be evidence of certain proof. (1)

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- (1) By June, 1567, the Hamiltons were being accused of participation in the crime, and in July it was reported that there was some talk of actually charging the Archbishop with the murder. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, 531, 534) But there is no evidence to support the allegation. (See Introduction, clxxv ff) In Ane Admonition, 1571, Buchanan formulated the accusation, saying that he 'ludgeit as he did seildom afoir quhair he mycht persave the plessour of that crueltie with all his sensis and help the murtheraris gif mister had bene and send four of his servandis to execute the murthour and watchit all the nycht thinking lang to haif the joy of the approching of the croun to thair hous.' (Vernacular Writings, 30) Buchanan must mean that the Archbishop lodged in the Duke's house, which was near Kirk o' Field. If this is so, however, the Archbishop would have seen nothing of Darnley's lodging, as the Provost's house stood between. (See Henry F. Kerr's Reconstruction, in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, LXVI, 140)

After the crime, messengers were at once sent to England, to spread the report that the King of Scots had been foully done to death by the direct means of the earls of Moray and Morton. (1) This rumour was immediately carried to court, and so inflamed everyone with hatred of the whole nation that for several days no Scot dared go about in public without risking his life. The anger could hardly be appeased even after a lengthy exchange of letters had thrown light on the conspiracy. (2) For a long time the King's body remained a spectacle to a continual crowd of common people. Then the Queen caused it to be laid on an inverted bench and carried by porters to the palace. (3) There she looked long on the body, the handsomest of his time; but gave no indication of her secret feelings one way or the other. The nobles at court decided to give him a rich and honourable funeral. But the Queen caused him to be buried by porters during the

(1) M. de Clerneau was despatched with the news on 11 February. He arrived in London probably on 16 February. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 473) Later, Robert Melville was despatched, and arrived some time before 20 February. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 949 ff) There is no evidence that either messenger attached guilt to Moray or Morton.

(2) Elizabeth wrote to Mary on 24 February, in answer to the messages brought by Melville. Maitland, Lennox, Morton and Moray wrote to Cecil. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 477, 480, 481, 482, 484) But it cannot be said that the correspondence threw much light on the conspiracy.

(3) This is from the Book of Articles, which states that the body lay untended for 48 hours. (Hosack, 538) There is no reference in the Detectio as to what happened to the body.

(Diurnal, 108) There is little evidence that Riccio's body was placed there. (Kelch, II, 517, p.)

night, without funeral honours. (1) And the general indignation was greatly increased because he was buried near to the grave of David Riccio, as if she offered her husband's corpse as an appeasement to the manes of that foul villian. (2)

Two incidents occurred at this time which I think are worth relating here. One of them happened a short time before the murder. James Loudon, a gentleman of Fife, who had long lain stricken with fever, about noon on the day before the King's death raised himself up in his bed in alarm, and loudly called on those present to come to the aid of the King, 'for the murderers are upon him!' Then a little after he cried in a mournful voice, 'You are too late: he is dead!' And it was not long after this before he himself gave up the ghost. The other incident happened at the very time of the murder. Three familiar friends of the earl of Atholl, relations of the King and men of integrity and rank, dwelt not far from the King's lodging. As they were sleeping in the middle of the night, someone seemed to approach Dugald Stewart, who

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- (1) The burial took place 'quietlie' on 14 or 15 February. (Diurnal, 106; Birrel's Diary, 7) That the Council wished to hold an elaborate ceremony is taken from the Book of Articles. (Hosack, 538) Leslie claims that the burial was quiet because so many of the lords were protestants. (Anderson's Collections, I, 23)
- (2) Darnley was buried in the royal vault beside James V. (Diurnal, 106) There is little evidence that Riccio's body was placed there. (Keith, II, 517, n.)

lay next to the wall, and drew his hand lightly over his beard, and so awakened him, saying, 'Arise, for they bring you violence!' He sat up suddenly, and was musing on his vision when all at once another cried from the other bed, 'Who is kicking me?' Dugald replied, 'The cat, perhaps, who walks by night.' Then the third man, who had not yet been aroused, suddenly threw himself from his bed on to his feet, asking, 'Who struck me on the ear?' As he spoke, a figure was seen to go out of the door, making some noise. And while they spoke together of what they had seen and heard, they were all alarmed by the noise of the destruction of the King's house. (1)

After the crime, men were differently affected according to their hatred of or affection for the King. All the good men unanimously condemned the wicked outrage. But John Stewart, earl of Atholl, was by far the most distressed, because among other reasons he had been the chief worker in the marriage. (2) As was usual in times of disturbance, armed guards kept watch round the palace on the night of the murder. Outside the wall of the bedchamber where Atholl lay, a sound was heard, as if the foundations of the wall

(1) For a comment on these stories, see Introduction, clxxvii.

(2) In 1564 Randolph mentions the 'singular trust' and friendship between Atholl and Lennox, and in May, 1565, names Atholl as one of the 'chief dealers' in the Darnley match. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 110, 174) In October, 1565, Mary wrote that Atholl had 'insisted' on the match. (ibid, no. 295)

were being quietly undermined. The family were aroused by the noise, and they passed the night without sleep. Next day the earl moved into the town, and shortly afterwards went home in fear of his life. (1) The earl of Moray was not free from danger, either, when he returned to court from St. Andrews. (2) Armed men were seen to walk round his house by night, but as his servants watched throughout every night on account of his sickness, the villains could attempt nothing secretly, and dared do nothing openly. At last Bothwell, who wished to free himself from that source of interference, decided to commit the atrocity with his own hand. Therefore, one night, he asked his personal attendants how Moray's health was. They replied that he was in terrible pain. 'What if we pay him a visit, then?' he said, and with that he rose and hurried towards Moray's house. On the way he was told that Moray had moved to his brother Robert's, to be away from the noise of the palace and able to enjoy more freedom and comfort. He stopped, stood silent for a moment, and went back home, sorry that he had missed so good an opportunity. (3)

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- (1) The Book of Articles states that Atholl and William Murray, the Comptroller, fled 'for fear of their lives.' (Hosack, 538) Robert Melville reported on 26 February that Atholl and the Comptroller had 'partit,' but were sent for again under pain of rebellion. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 478)
- (2) Moray returned to Edinburgh some time at the beginning of March. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 499)
- (3) There is no other authority for this story.

Meanwhile the Queen put on a sorrowful face, thinking that by pretence of grief she could ingratiate herself once more with the people. But this was unsuccessful as the rest of the conspiracy. For while the custom of former times was that queens, after the death of their husbands, should for many days withdraw themselves not only from the company of men but even from the light of day: but such was her joy that though she shut the doors she opened the windows. On the fourth day she threw off her mourning and could face the light and the open air. (1) Before the twelfth day she brazenly resisted the comments of the people and went out to the estate of Seton, about seven miles from the town. Bothwell, meantime, was never absent from her side. (2) There she so behaved that there seemed no change in her habit of mind, though there was a little difference in her clothes. The place was frequented by a throng of noble-men; and in the neighbouring fields the Queen daily amused herself with sports that were clearly unsuited to women.

(1) This partially repeats the Detectio, where Buchanan states that 40 days was the prescribed period of seclusion. (Ruddiman, I, 75) There is no reason to believe that such a prolonged period was expected of a Queen Regnant.

(2) The Diurnal states that Mary went to Seton on 16 February, but left Bothwell and Huntly behind at Holyrood to look after the prince. (Diurnal, 106) She returned to Edinburgh on 19 February, and went back to Seton, this time with Bothwell, before 26 February. (Hay Fleming, 442, n. 36)

containing the depositions of two women and a 'chirurgien', dated 11 February. (Col. Buchanan, II, no. 471)

But the arrival of the Frenchman du Croc (who had often before been ambassador in Scotland) somewhat upset their plans. He shewed them how infamous the affair was considered abroad, and they returned to Edinburgh. (1) Seton, however, had so many conveniences, that they had to go back there, to the detriment of their reputations. There the principal topic of conversation was how to absolve Bothwell of their participation in the murder of the King. They had tried before, in fact, to have both the accusation and the purgation. For immediately after the murder of the King Bothwell with several friends had convened before the earl of Argyll, who was the Lord Justice General. (2) At first they professed ignorance of all that had happened, marvelling at it as a new, unheard-of, incredible thing. Then they allowed a very slight examination and cited some wretched old women from the neighbourhood. These, hesitating between hope and fear, were uncertain whether it behoved them to speak out or hold their peace. Indeed, though they spoke guardedly, they

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- (1) Du Croc was in Paris on 19 February. He did not leave for Scotland until after 12 March. (Pollen, Pap. Neg., 349, 363) Killigrew arrived from England on 19 February. (Diurnal, 107; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 477) But apparently he did not see the Queen until 8 March (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 479) - though the Diurnal states that he had audience on 20 February. (Diurnal, 107)
- (2) The Detectio and the Book of Articles state that this investigation took place on 11 February in the earl of Argyll's chamber. (Ruddiman, I, 73; Hosack, 537) This is confirmed by a damaged paper in Alexander Hay's hand containing the depositions of two women and a 'chirurgiane,' dated 11 February. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 471)

blurted out more than was expected of them, and were now doubted who had dismissed, as having spoken rashly. But it was easy to it out. (1) And the despise their testimony. Then appeared those of the the people burst forth familiar servants of the King who had not been overcome by the disaster. They were questioned as to the entry of of these things, the the murderers, and denied that the keys had been in their could not hide their possession. To the question, 'Who had them, then?' they question of the King's replied, 'The Queen.' Further examination was then postponed; but rather, the affair was dropped altogether, for called them) the they feared that if they proceeded further, secrets of the prosecuted the search court would be revealed to the people. (1) Lest the expense nor labour, business might seem to have been abandoned altogether, summoned to see if they could however, a proclamation was issued. (2) Money was offered from the pictures and libels to informers. (3) But who dared accuse Bothwell, who to the proclamation, making it a would be judge, inquisitor and executioner all at the same to publish these placards but time? Nevertheless this fear, which stopped the mouths of had been published. (3) individuals, could not suppress a multitude. Handbills and stop the people's mouths placards and cries by night told the regicides that their nocturnal secrets were known to the people; that no one

(1) This account is a conflation of the versions given in the Detectio and the Book of Articles, whose details are not consistent. It is based on the deposition of Nelson. (Anderson's Collections, IV, 165)

(2) The proclamation was issued on 12 February, 1567. (Reg. Privy Council, 498)

(3) Informers were offered free pardon, 2,000 pounds, and 'ane honest yeirlie rent.' (ibid)

act of parliament, and was not issued until Bothwell had been acquitted. (Anderson, II, 552; Cal. Scot. Parls., II, no. 493)

now doubted who had planned the crime, and who had carried it out. (1) And the more they were suppressed, the more the people burst forth in their wrath.

Although the conspirators tried to seem contemptuous of these things, they were so put out by them that they could not hide their uneasiness. So they dropped the question of the King's death, and with much more bitterness set about pursuing the authors of the libels and (as they called them) the calumniators of Bothwell. (2) They prosecuted the search with great severity, sparing neither expense nor labour. All painters and scribes were summoned to see if they could possibly detect the authors from the pictures and libels. A typical clause was added to the proclamation, making it a capital offence not only to publish these placards but even to read them when they had been published. (3) But they who tried so hard to stop the people's mouths by threats of capital punishment,

(1) Drury reported that the first placard was set up in the night of 16 February. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 960) Other handbills were posted during the next week, all accusing Bothwell with others, of the crime. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 977; Birrel's Diary, 8; Anderson's Collections, I, 43-7) James Murray of Tullibardine was found to have been the chief author of the campaign. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 500)

(2) On 14 March, proclamation was made for the arrest of James Murray. (ibid)

(3) This was not a clause in the proclamation, but a separate act of parliament, and was not issued until Bothwell had been acquitted. (A.P.S., II, 552; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 493)

still loosed their hatred on the dead King - not yet satiated by death. The dead man's belongings - his arms, horses, clothes and the rest of his effects - were divided by the Queen among his murderers and the enemies of his father, as if they had been collected by the Treasury. (1) As this was done brazenly, it was as brazenly criticised; so much so, that a certain tailor, who was altering the King's clothes to suit Bothwell, was bold enough to remark that it was only right, and well in accordance with the custom of the land, for the clothes of the deceased to be given to the executioner.

Meanwhile another problem arose - how the Queen could get Edinburgh castle into her own hands. John, earl of Mar, held it with the proviso that he was to render it up to no one except by decree of parliament. (2) Although parliament was to meet next month, yet the delay seemed too long to the Queen in her desire. So she arranged with the earl's friends and relations (for he himself lay gravely ill at Stirling) that the castle should be given up to her. Her chief justification was that she could not keep in proper check the Edinburgh mob, who were then giving trouble, unless she

(1) There is no evidence for this; but Mary's gifts to Bothwell at this time were rich and numerous. (Hay Fleming, 443, n. 45)

(2) This is correct, but the Queen legalised the position in the ensuing parliament. (A.P.S., II, 547; Diurnal, 108)

(A.P.S., II, 547; Diurnal, 107) According to the Diurnal, the transference was unwelcome to the officers.

had the castle under her own authority. But as a token of her great trust in the earl she would give him her son, the sole heir to the kingdom, to be guarded and brought up by him. This office his forebears had held for many other princes, and especially within living memory for her own mother and grandfather, with much praiseworthy success. The earl understood well enough the purpose of these promises and compliments, but yet he not unwillingly agreed. When the Queen found that she had succeeded more easily than she had hoped, she tried to get possession of the castle while at the same time she retained custody of her son. When she could not obtain this, she tried it by a different trick. She suggested that he should receive the boy at Linlithgow, which is halfway between Edinburgh and Stirling, on a certain day, when also the castle should be given to her. But he suspected some chicanery, and at last it was settled that the boy should be handed over at Stirling castle; meanwhile the earl gave some of his closest friends and relations as sureties that the castle would be surrendered. (1)

These matters somewhat troubled the regicides. But the numerous complaints of the earl of Lennox disturbed them much more. He dared not come to court on account of the

(1) A kind of bargain certainly seems to have been made between Mar and the Queen: on 19 March the prince left Holyrood to be delivered to Mar at Stirling on 20 March. On 19 March Mar formally surrendered Edinburgh Castle to the Queen. (A.P.S., II, 547; Diurnal, 107) According to the Diurnal, the transference was unwelcome to the citizens.

overweening power and licence of Bothwell, but he bombarded the Queen with letters. (1) He sought her to detain Bothwell in custody, as the obvious author of the murder, until such time as a day of law could be fixed. (2) Though she contrived by deceit to evade his demands, at last - when it was no longer possible to escape trial of so odious a fact - she found means to hold the trial. Parliament was fixed for 13 April. The Queen wanted the inquiry settled by that day, so that the accused, absolved by the verdict of the court, could be exonerated by the assent of the whole parliament. There was such haste in the trial that nothing was done in accordance with order or tradition.

(1) The correspondence between Lennox and the Queen at this time is in Anderson's Collections, I, 40 ff. A fuller series is in Keith, II, 525 ff. See also Introduction, clxxxvii ff.

(2) On 20 February Lennox asked the Queen to convene the estates. On 21 February the Queen replied that she had already taken steps to call parliament. (Keith, II, 525-6) Parliament was proclaimed on 27 February, to be held on 14 April. (Diurnal, 106) On 26 February Lennox asked that the persons accused in the placards be detained and tried before parliament convened. On 1 March the Queen replied that the placards were so numerous and the names given by them so various that she did not know whom to arrest. If Lennox supplied the names of those whom he thought 'worthy to suffer a trial,' she was willing to proceed. On 12 March Lennox named Bothwell, Balfour, David Chalmers and six others. (Keith, II, 526-30) On 28 March the Privy Council, among them Bothwell, arranged for the trial of Bothwell and others on 12 April. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 504)

The plaintiff's relations - wife, father, mother and son - (1) ought by custom to have been cited to compear personally or by proxy within forty days, for that was the legal period. (1) But the father was ordered to compear on 13 April, and that without the support of his friends, with only his own family, now dwindled to a mere few because of great poverty. (1) Meanwhile Bothwell paraded the town with a host of his followers; and the earl of Lennox deemed it advisable to keep away, seeing that he would not be free to act as he wished, or even be safe in his own person, in a city full of enemies, and he without friends or the protection of supporters. (2)

On the appointed day Bothwell - at once the accused and the accuser - went to the Tolbooth. (3) Judges were

- (1) Parliament had already been summoned for 14 April. Lennox had asked for a trial to be held before the estates met. It is difficult to see where the Queen was at fault - except, perhaps, in not detaining Bothwell.
- (2) On 11 April Lennox wrote from Stirling to say that as he had fallen sick on his journey, he could not be present at the trial, and asked for a postponement. (Keith, II, 538) It is clear that this was a last-minute effort to defer the proceedings, and the Queen could not be expected to interfere. That Lennox was forbidden to bring supporters was alleged by his representative, Robert Cunningham, at the trial and by the English government. (Keith, II, 539; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 498) But the act of Privy Council states that they summoned Lennox 'and all utheris that will accuse the said Erll Bothwell and remanent personis suspectit and delatit.' (Reg. Privy Council, I, 504) There is no indication that Lennox was forbidden to bring friends.
- (3) On 12 April, 1567. (Diurnal, 107, etc.)

appointed from the nobility, most of them his own friends. (1) None of his opponents had objected to any of them. Robert Cunningham, of the house of Lennox, caused a short delay in the trial. Having craved licence to speak, he openly declared that neither by custom or by law was that court competent, where the accused was too great to be punished in accordance with justice, and where the plaintiff was absent in fear of death. So that whatever was there ordained would not be valid, being in accordance neither with law nor ordinary procedure. (2) Nevertheless they went on with the business. Gilbert, earl of Cassilis, when he was selected as a judge, excused himself rather to exercise his right than with any hope of accomplishing anything; and he offered to pay the fine which is usually required from those who refuse to sit. At once a messenger bearing the Queen's signet ordered him to compear, on pain of imprisonment. When he

(1) The Chief Justice was Argyll; with him sat Lord Lindsay of the Byres, Robert Pitcairn, James Macgill and Henry Balnaves. (Anderson's Collections, II, 102 ff) All of these were protestants, friends of Moray, and soon afterwards bitter opponents of Bothwell. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 501, 502, 632, etc.) But the jury certainly consisted of men friendly to Bothwell. It included Rothes, Caithness, Cassilis, Ross and Herries. (Anderson's Collections, II, 112; Keith, II, 545)

(2) Cunningham's declaration was to the effect that his master, Lennox, requested a postponement of the trial on the grounds that he had not had sufficient time to prepare evidence; and that if the accused were acquitted, 'it salbe wilfull error and not ignorance,' as it was well-known they were guilty. (Keith, II, 543-4)

was not moved by fear of prison, again the messenger from the Queen threatened him that to refuse would mean punishment for treason. (1) By this intimidation he was compelled to sit, and they pronounced the verdict, that there was no ground for condemning Bothwell; but if anyone should later accuse him, in proper form and law, they could not but concede that this trial would be no impediment. (2) This verdict did not seem unworthy, for the question was so worded that the severest of judges could not have condemned Bothwell. They were commanded to investigate a murder which had been committed on 9 February, whereas the King had been killed on the 10th. (3) So Bothwell was absolved, but not freed from ill-repute. For suspicion was increased, and retribution seemed only to be postponed. But for the Queen, intent upon marrying him, any sham, however impudent, was enough. As a climax to his absolution, a placard was put up in prominent positions, stating that although Bothwell had been cleansed of murder by a proper court of law, yet

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- (1) Knox's continuator and Spottiswoode both give this story, probably following Buchanan. (Knox, II, 204; Spottiswoode, II, 50) Cassilis was on the Assise. (Keith, II, 545) There is no record of his refusing to sit.
- (2) This is tantamount to a verdict of not proven.
- (3) The indictment, which refers to the murder of 'the 9th day of February last,' is in Keith, II, 541. At Westminster, December, 1568, a protestation was produced, said to have been made at the time by the earl of Caithness, pointing out the discrepancy in the indictment. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 912)

to establish his innocence beyond all doubt, he was prepared to defend it by the sword, if anyone of honest name and rank should accuse him of the King's death. (1) Next day someone as boldly accepted the challenge, in a placard set up for all to see, on condition that a place should be appointed where he could reveal his name without danger. (2)

In spite of the success of her hopes, the Queen presented a bold front in the parliament: formerly she had shown a moderate turn of mind, but now she openly revealed her lust for despotism. For she brazenly denied all that she had promised at Stirling in matters of religion. (3) This was that in the very next parliament all the laws which had been constituted through the tyranny of the Roman Pontiff should be abolished, and the authority of the reformed church established by new laws. Besides this promise, two

(1) According to Bothwell's own account, the challenge was posted on the Tolbooth and the door of St. Giles on 12 April. (Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel, Bann. Club, 15)

(2) Answers to Bothwell's cartel are in Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 489, 490, dated 13 April, 1567. The chief challenger was James Murray of Tullibardine.

(3) This probably refers to the Queen's promises anent religion at Stirling in 1565. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 372) The Kirk Assembly's Supplication and the Queen's answer (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 203, 217) make it clear that Mary did not positively promise to establish the reformed church, but only to obey the will of parliament. Buchanan may here refer to renewed promises made by Mary in Stirling, January, 1566, when she granted an assignation for the ministry; but there is no evidence that these promises amounted to more than those made earlier. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 494)

declarations signed by her own hand were produced, but she evaded their force. (1) She ordered those who had been sent by the kirk to return another day, and never after that time did she give them any opportunity of doing so. The acts of parliament which had been passed with the consent of her husband Francis before her return to Scotland were, she declared, subject to the Law of Oblivion. (2) That statement seemed to everyone to be a manifest profession of tyranny. Therefore, as the Scots have no laws other than the acts of parliament, there grew up the silent reflection that the future would be uncertain under a ruler whose own will was to be the law, and who paid no heed to promises. All this happened towards the end of parliament.

At the same time the Queen, eager to hasten her marriage, began by any means she could to gain some kind of public consent, that she might not appear to undertake anything

(1) It is untrue that the Queen conceded nothing; the act concerning religion was a substantial contribution to reform. (A.P.S., II, 550 ff)

(2) The Act of Oblivion was passed by the parliament of 1563. (A.P.S., II, 535) It absolved from legal procedure all subjects who had acted contrary to the laws of the realm between 6 March, 1558 and 1 September, 1561. A committee of lords was set up to examine cases of offenders accused of being 'unworthy of the privilege and favour of the act.' The act had no reference to legislation of any kind, and Buchanan's allegation must be unfounded. In the parliament of April, 1567, an act concerning the Law of Oblivion was passed, but it merely nominated four substitutes for the committee. (Anderson's Collections, I, 123)

without the consent of her nobility. Bothwell, therefore, they had not believed that they would never have assisted him, they would never have assisted him, they employed the following stratagem. He invited all the nobles of highest rank who were then at court (and there were many) to a supper. When they were all reduced to a state of merriment, he asked them to offer in future the same goodwill they had shown to him in the past. At present he besought them that as he was a suitor for the Queen's hand, they should sign a little document he had drawn up on the subject. This would help him to obtain the Queen's favour, and the respect of other men. The sudden and unexpected suggestion astonished them all, but while they could not hide their dismay, they dared not refuse what was asked. A few, who had learned the Queen's wishes, led the way; and as the rest were unaware how many of their number were accessories to the fact, they were suspicious of one another, so that all signed. (1) Next day, when they discussed with one another what had passed, some frankly declared that if

(1) The supper is said to have been held in a tavern owned by one Ainslie on 19 April. The Ainslie Bond is in Keith, II, 563, and Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 492. The list of subscribers is not wholly authenticated, but includes Argyll, Huntly, Cassilis, Morton and Rothes. Moray's name is on the list, but this is probably erroneous, as he was out of the country at the time. The signatories promise to 'take plain and upright part' with Bothwell, and 'further, advance and set forward' the marriage.

(2) These were the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishops of Aberdeen, Galloway, Dunblane, Brechin, Ross, Orkney and the Isles. (Keith, II, 564)

(3) 20 April, Kirkcaldy of George wrote Bedford that the Queen intended to take the prince out of Mary's hands and put him in Bothwell's keeping. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, 493)

they had not believed that it would please the Queen, they would never have assented. For besides that the business was not very honest, and was harmful to the public, there was always the danger that (as they remembered with her former husband) a quarrel might occur and Bothwell might be thrown aside; then they themselves might become criminals for having betrayed the Queen and compelled her to enter into an unworthy marriage. Therefore, before the matter was settled, they thought it necessary to ascertain her wishes, and obtain a statement signed by her own hand to the effect that what they had done in respect of the marriage was agreeable to her. This was easily obtained, and it was entrusted by the consent of all to the safe keeping of the earl of Argyll. (1)

Next day those of the bishops who were then in town were called to court, that they might likewise add their names. (2) This being effected, their next care was how the Queen should get her son into her own hands. (3) For

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- (1) A 'warrant' dated 19 April, in Mary's hand, giving the lords permission to sign the Bond, was shown to the English Commissioners at York, 11 October, 1568. Buchanan was one of the Regent's commissioners who presented this document. The paper was not apparently produced at Westminster in December, 1568. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 854, 912, 913) For a brief discussion of the evidence, see Introduction, cxcii ff.
- (2) These were the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishops of Aberdeen, Galloway, Dunblane, Brechin, Ross, Orkney and the Isles. (Keith, II, 569)
- (3) 20 April, Kirkcaldy of Grange wrote Bedford that the Queen intended to take the prince out of Mar's hands and put him in Bothwell's keeping. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, 493)

Bothwell did not consider it to his own security to protect a boy who might one day become the avenger of his father's death; and he wanted no other to stand in the way of his own children in the line of succession to the throne. So the Queen, who could refuse him nothing, personally undertook to have the boy brought back to Edinburgh. She had other reasons for visiting Stirling, which I shall mention later. When she arrived there, the earl of Mar suspected what she was after. (1) He showed her the boy, indeed, but in such a way that he was always in his own keeping. (2) The Queen, foiled in her design, and unable to take the child by force, made false excuses about why she had come, and set out on her journey home. While she was on the road, she was suddenly stricken by a severe pain, caused by her continuous exertions, or else by sheer wrath because the plan which had seemed so well-conceived by the authors had met with so little success. She stopped at a poor little cottage about four miles out of Stirling. When the pain had cleared up, she resumed

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- (1) There is no confirmation of this account of the Queen's movements. It does not conform with Kirkcaldy's story. (Kirkcaldy, 171) It is first published as an appendix to the *Detestable* (Huddington, 1, 77) and in the *Book of Balaclava* (Hosack, 543).
- (2) The Queen went to Stirling to visit the prince on 21 April. (*Diurnal*, 109; *Cal. Scot. Papers*, II, no. 496) That she intended to transfer the prince out of Mar's custody seems to have been widely rumoured. (*C.S.P.For.*, 1566-68, no. 1119, etc.)
- (3) A similar story is told by Melville. (*Memoirs*, 179)
- (3) That Mary was aware of the intended 'rape' was certainly believed at the time. (Kirkcaldy to Bedford, *Cal. Scot. Papers*, II, no. 496)

her journey, and came that night to Linlithgow. (1) From there she sent Paris to Bothwell with a letter, saying what she wished to be done about the rape. (2) For before she had left Edinburgh, she had arranged with him that on her return journey he should seize her at the bridge of Almond, and do with her what he would, as if he had abducted her by force. (3) Thus was the affair commonly interpreted, for she could not hide her intimacy with Bothwell, nor do without it, nor without loss of reputation enjoy it as openly as she wished. She was loth to wait for his divorce from his wife; and she wished to consult her good name, for which she had till now pretended to care, as well as the impatience of her desire. Therefore it seemed a good idea that Bothwell, by some serious crime - but one for which he feared no penalty - should expunge the Queen's ill-fame. But there was a deeper design behind this enterprise, as was later learned. When the people had again and again named and cursed the authors of the King's death, they had provided for their own

(1) There is no confirmation of this account of the Queen's movements. It does not conform with Kirkcaldy's statement on 24 April that she intended to leave Stirling on the 24th - the day on which the 'rape' occurred. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 496)

(2) This probably refers to Casket Letter VII, (Henderson, 171) first published as an appendix to the Detection about 1571/2. There are references to this letter in the Detectio (Ruddiman, I, 77) and in the Book of Articles. (Hosack, 543)

(3) That Mary was aware of the intended 'rape' was certainly believed at the time. (Kirkcaldy to Bedford, Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 496)

(3) This, at any rate, was the opinion of Sir James Melville, who was then at Dunbar, (Memoirs, 177)

security by planning (by the advice, it is said, of John Leslie, bishop of Ross) the rape of the Queen. In Scotland it is the custom that when pardon is granted to any criminal, the most serious crime is explicitly named, and others indicated in general terms. The perpetrators of the royal murder determined therefore to ask pardon for laying hands on the sovereign, that being the offence named, with this added to the end - 'and other nefarious deeds.' They persuaded themselves that this clause would include the murder of the King; for it did not seem safe to be named as the authors in a pardon, or to be directly pardoned. Such a crime, too, could not be stuck on as appendix to lesser crimes. Another crime, less abominable, but equal in penalty, must therefore be invented, under cover of which the murder of the King could be indicated and pardoned. This sham rape was the only thing that occurred to them which would accommodate both the Queen's passions and Bothwell's security. (1)

According to their agreement, then, he waited for the Queen at the bridge of Almond, accompanied by six hundred horsemen, and conducted her - not without her consent - to Dunbar. (2) There they freely indulged their passion. (3)

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- (1) This theory was first propounded in the Book of Articles. (Hosack, 543) See remission in Privy Seal, 10 May, 1567. (c. Laing, II, 80)
- (2) Bothwell intercepted Mary on 24 April, 1567. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 520; Diurnal, 109) He had 700 or 800 men. (*ibid*) The place has not been fully identified (see Hay Fleming, 448, n. 63) but there is no doubt that it was between Linlithgow and Edinburgh. (Diurnal, 110; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 503; Melville, 177)
- (3) This, at any rate, was the opinion of Sir James Melville, who was then at Dunbar, (Memoirs, 177)

Meanwhile a divorce from his first wife was sued for in two courts: before the commissaries, who took cognition of that kind of case, and before the officials - the episcopal judges, as they were called, though they were forbidden by act of parliament to act as magistrates or play any part in public affairs. (1) Lady Jean Gordon, Bothwell's wife, was compelled to enter two actions for divorce. She accused her husband before the Queen's judges of adultery, which was the only case for divorce recognised by them. (2) In the papal court, banned by law but held by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, she accused him of having abused a relation of his wife before marriage. (3) There was no delay in procuring the divorce, on the parts of either the witnesses or the judges. Within ten days, the suit was instituted, heard and decided. (4)

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- (1) It should be noted that the Queen restored the consistorial jurisdiction of St. Andrews in December, 1566, (R.S.S., V, no. 3145) and that the only use made of it was the granting of the divorce. The commissaries were local courts recognised by the reformed Church.
- (2) The action was entered before the Commissary Court on 29 April, 1567. (Diurnal, 110; Nau, CLXIII ff)
- (3) The divorce was sought in the 'Papal' Court on the ground of consanguinity, and the pursuer was Bothwell, not his wife. (Robertson, History, App. XX) The Consistorial Court was not illegal, since the Queen had restored it on 23 December, 1566. (Hay Fleming, 145-6)
- (4) The divorce was granted by the Commissary Court on 3 May, and by the 'Papal' Court on 7 May. (Diurnal, 110; Robertson, History, App. XX)
- (2) The report of the results as received by Drury is similar. (G.S.S., 1566-7, no. 1173)

Meanwhile the more honest group of the nobility convened at Stirling, and sent to the Queen to ask whether she was held captive against her will, or with her consent. (1) For if she were held against her will, they would collect a force and rescue her. She received the messenger with some merriment, and replied that she had been brought there against her will, but that she had been so kindly treated that she could not find much to complain about at the first offence. (2) Having thus made fun of the messenger, they hastened to expunge the offence of the rape by a legal marriage. But two obstacles still appeared to stand in their way. One was that if the Queen married while in captivity, the marriage could be held invalid, and so easily dissolved. The other obstacle was how the usual ceremonies were to be followed. These required that the intending marriage between James Hepburn and Mary Stuart should be proclaimed three Sundays before the congregation, with the warning that if anyone knew of any flaw or impediment why the marriage ought not to take place, they should report such to the Kirk. To overcome these obstacles, Bothwell assembled his friends and attendants, and made up his mind that he would bring the Queen back to Edinburgh. There, with

(1) Argyll, Atholl, Morton, Mar and others met at Stirling and made a band to 'pursue the Queen's liberty.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 501, 502) Drury heard that they had sent a message as stated above. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 1161) Mary later wrote of the 'profound silence' of the nobility while she was at Dunbar. (infra, 161)

(2) The report of the Queen's answer received by Drury is similar. (C.SP.For., 1566-8, no. 1173)

a pretence of freedom, she could make up her own mind to be married. Many of his attendants were heavily armed, and as they returned, they began to fear lest they might one day be accused of treason for having held the Queen captive. One argument above all others sufficed - they appeared to be round the Queen in arms at a time of general quietness. This scruple prevailed, and they all threw away their spears, and conducted her in a peaceful train (in appearance at least) to Edinburgh, which was then in Bothwell's power. (1) Next day they escorted her into the town, to the courts of justice, where she testified that she was free and entirely her own mistress. (2)

When it came to having the marriage banns proclaimed in the Kirk, the reader whose duty it was steadily refused. (3) The deacons and elders were assembled, and as they did not dare refuse, they ordered the preacher to proclaim the banns in the traditional manner. He obeyed them to this extent, that he announced that he himself knew

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- (1) This follows the Detectio. (Ruddiman, I, 77) It appears, too, in Moray's Diary. (Anderson's Collections, II, 276) The Castle was in the keeping of Sir James Cockburn of Skirling, apparently a creature of Bothwell's. (Diurnal, 107, 111)
- (2) According to the Detectio and the Book of Articles, the Queen testified that she was free before the Lords of Session, in the Tolbooth, on 12 May. (Ruddiman, I, 77; Hosack, 543-4) Both state that this happened after the banns were cried. See also the supposititious act of Privy Council in Anderson's Collections, I, 88.
- (3) This was John Craig, minister of St. Giles. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 501)

of an impediment, which he was ready to tell to either Bothwell or the Queen, whenever they wished. He was summoned to the Castle. When he arrived, the Queen sent him to Bothwell. But he could not turn the preacher from his purpose, either by flattery or threats, and he did not dare commit the matter to debate. (1) Yet he prepared for the marriage. The bishop of Orkney alone was found to prefer court favour to the truth: (2) the others proclaimed, with ample reason, that no marriage could be valid with one who already had two wives living, and had recently been divorced from another, on his own admission of adultery. (3) But though all good men were indignant; though the people cursed her; though her relations, having shown disapproval by letters while the affair was brewing, openly detested it now that it was accomplished by false ceremonies; in spite of all this, the marriage was solemnised. (4) The nobles who were then at court (nearly all had gone home, except a few of Bothwell's friends and relations) (5) were invited to a supper, and along

(1) Craig's account of the matter is in the Booke of the Universall Kirk, I, 115-6.

(2) Adam Hepburn, bishop of Orkney, performed the marriage ceremony, (Diurnal, 111)

(3) Bothwell's first 'wife' was Anne Thröndsson.

(4) The Queen and Bothwell were married on 15 May, 1567. (Diurnal, 111, etc.)

(5) 'Il n'y a ici un seul seigneur de nom, que ledit comte de Boduel et le comte de Craffort (Crawford); les autres sont mandes, et ne veulent venir.' (Du Croc à la Reine-mère, 18 May, 1567, Teulet, Papiers d'État, II, 155) See also Diurnal, 111.

with them, du Croc, the French ambassador. Although he consulted with a few friends as to how she could establish herself in the district, du Croc stoutly refused to come, for he felt it to be below the dignity of the ambassadorial office he held, to grace by his presence a marriage which he heard so bitterly cursed by the people. (1) The Queen's relations also disapproved of the match, both at its beginning and after its accomplishment; and the rulers of France and England both expressed through their ambassadors their loathing of the detestable affair. (2)

These things troubled the Queen; but the silent resentment of the people embittered her headstrong spirit even more, for what is seen affects the mind more than what is merely heard. In their progress through the town, no one greeted the rulers with the customary acclamations. Only one old crone cried, 'God bless the Queen!' At once, in a voice easily heard by all around, another cried out, 'Let that be as she deserves!' This incident did nothing to lighten the Queen's animosity towards the Edinburgh townsfolk, whom she already hated. (3) When she realised

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- (1) William Chiselm, Bishop of Dunblane, left Scotland for (1) Du Croc refused to attend on the grounds that he had no mandate from his government to recognise Bothwell. (Teulet, op. cit., II, 154) original into Latin, but he has omitted the last two paragraphs, dealing with Bothwell's
- (2) The French ambassador's objection to the marriage is in Teulet, op. cit., 154 ff, and in Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 502. Though there is no letter from Elizabeth extant, she appears to have written before the marriage and was 'sharply answered.' (ibid, no. 501)
- (3) This incident is not recorded elsewhere.

how indignant people were, both at home and abroad, she consulted with a few friends as to how she could establish her authority and protect herself from future disturbance. The first thing they decided was to send an ambassador to France, to reconcile the King and the Guises, who were offended at her headlong marriage. The envoy chosen was William, bishop of Dunblane. (1) These were his instructions, almost verbatim:

'First, you will excuse us to the King and Queen, and our uncles, because the consummation of our marriage was brought to their ears before our messengers brought them the news of our intention. This excuse must be chiefly grounded on the true report of the Duke of Orkney's whole life, and especially of his behaviour and proceedings towards us, to this time that we have been made content to take him for our husband. This report you shall make as it is indeed, beginning from his very youth. From his first entering into his estate, immediately on the death of his father, who was one of the first earls of this realm, he dedicated his whole service to his sovereign; and his house

(1) William Chisolm, bishop of Dunblane, left Scotland for France in May, 1567. His Instructions are in Anderson's Collections, I, 89-102. Buchanan's account is a fairly accurate translation of the original into Latin, but he has omitted the last two paragraphs, dealing with Bothwell's divorce. In re-translating, I have had recourse to the original.

In this office he so came up to the expectations of men that

was the foremost in reputation by reason of its ancient nobility and great office, which is heritable to it. At which particular time, the Queen our mother being then Regent, he supported her with such devotion and earnestness that though soon after the most part of the nobility, and almost all the burghs made a revolt from her authority under colour of religion, yet he never swerved from her obedience, and could not be induced either by promises or benefits or threats of the wreck of his property, to leave any part of his duty towards her, but rather was content to suffer his principal house and the rich moveables therein to be sacked, and the rest of his goods to become the prey of his enemies. At length, when he was destitute of our protection, and the assistance of any part of his countrymen, an English army was brought into the very bowels of our realm by the rebels, which had no other butt to shoot at but that our husband, being then earl of Bothwell, should be forced to abandon his lands and country and retire to France, where he continued faithfully in our service until our return to Scotland. You shall not forget his service in the war against the English, a little before our return, wherein he gave such proof of his valiantness and good conduct that, notwithstanding he was then of very young age, he was thought most fit to be commander in chief and our Lieutenant-General. In this office he so came up to the expectations of men that

by his many noble enterprises he acquired a singular reputation for valour both among his own countrymen and the enemy.

After our return, he gave his whole study to the fortsetting of our authority, and avoided no danger in suppressing the rebellious subjects inhabiting the countries lying nearest the marches of England. And within a short time he brought them to a perfect quietness, with the intention of passing forward in the like service in all other parts of the realm. But as envy ever follows virtue, the factious Scots, eager to put him out of our good grace, so misrepresented his good services that we were compelled to put him in ward; partly to satisfy the envious minds of those who could not abide his advancement, and partly to avoid a sedition which might have brought the whole realm in trouble. He escaped from prison, and passed out of the realm towards France, to give way to their malice. There he remained about two years; at which time the authors of the previous trouble forgot our clemency towards them, and their duty towards us, and putting themselves in arms marched against us. Then he was called home by our command, restored to his former estates and honours, and again appointed commander of our forces. Our authority at once prospered under his hands, so that all the rebels were constrained to depart the realm and remain in England, until received back to our favour.

serve for an example how cunningly men can cover their

How treasonably we were assailed for the homebringing of the others, by those whom we had advanced to more honour than they were worthy of, is not unknown to our uncles, so little need be said about that. Yet it is worthy of remembrance, with what dexterity he delivered us out of their hands who held us captive, and how suddenly by his providence not only were we delivered out of prison, but also the whole company of conspirators was dissolved, and we recovered our former authority. Indeed we must confess that that service done to us at that time was so acceptable to us, that we could never to this hour forget it.

He has so increased these outstanding services by his zeal and diligence that we could not have looked for greater attention or loyalty in anyone than we have found in him, until of late, since the decease of the King our husband. From that time, as his pretences began to be higher, so his proceedings seemed somewhat more strange. Although we are now so far committed to him that we must interpret all things to the best, yet we were highly offended, first with his presumption, that thought we could not sufficiently reward him unless we gave our self to him as a recompense for his services; next at his secret practices and plan; and at last his plain contempt of our person, and use of force to have us in his power, for fear of being disappointed in his purposes. Meanwhile his whole deportment was such as may serve for an example how cunningly men can cover their

designs, when they have any great enterprise in head, till they have brought their purposes to pass. For we thought, (1) his continuance in waiting upon us, and readiness to fulfil all our commandments, proceeded only from loyalty to us. We thought no deeper wish or design was hidden therein. Nor did we ever expect that the gracious countenance we showed, being but the ordinary favour we show towards such noblemen as we found affectionate to our service, should encourage him to give him boldness to look for any extraordinary favour at our hands. But he, making profit of everything that might serve his turn, keeping his own purpose secret from us, at the same time preserved our former favour towards him. Meantime he went about entertaining the nobility and practising with them to obtain new favour. He so far succeeded in this by his persistence that before it ever came to our knowledge, while the parliament was here assembled, he obtained a writing subscribed by all the lords, wherein they not only consented to our marriage with him, but also obliged themselves to set it forward with their lives and goods, and to be enemies to all who would disturb or impede it.

More easily to purchase the votes of the nobles, he gave them to understand that we were content with the proceeding. Having obtained this writing, he began gradually to essay if he might by humble suit purchase our good will. But when our answer corresponded not to his desire, he began to cast before his eyes all the doubts

that customarily men use to revolve with themselves in like enterprises - the outward indications of our own mind; (1) The persuasions which our friends or his unfriends might cast out for his hindrance; the changing of their minds whose consent he had already obtained; and many other incidents which might come to frustrate him of his expectation. At last he resolved to follow forth his good fortune, and gamble on one throw his whole enterprise, his ambitions, and his life. Wherefore, having resolved to prosecute his deliberation, within four days thereafter, as we were returning from a visit to the prince our dearest son, he awaited us at a convenient place and time, accompanied by a great force, and led us with all diligence to Dunbar. How we took that manner of dealing, especially in him of whom we doubted less than of any subject, is easy to be imagined. We reproached him with the favour we had always shown him, the honour with which we had esteemed him, his ingratitude, and with all other remonstrances which might serve to rid us out of his hands. Yet though his doing was rude, his words were gentle; he said that he would honour and serve us, and nowise offend us. He asked pardon for the boldness he had taken to convoy us to one of our own houses, whereunto

(1) So Buchanan, but the original reads: 'the untowardness of our own mind.' Goddall pointed out that Buchanan must have misread this as 'outwardness' and has thus mistranslated the phrase. (Goddall, Examination, I, 133)

he was driven by the vehemence of his love, which had made him set aside the reverence which naturally as a subject he bore towards us, as also the safety of his own life.

And there he began to make us a discourse of his whole life, and to lament his bad fortune, to find men his enemies whom he had never offended; how their malice never ceased to assault him on all occasions; what calumnies they had spread of him touching the King's death; how unable he was to save himself from the conspiracies of his enemies, whom he did not know, since every man professed himself outwardly to be his friend. Such was their malice, that nowhere, at no time, could he find himself in surety, unless he were assured of our favour to endure without alteration. This certainly could only be obtained in one way - if he could persuade us to take him to husband. He solemnly swore that he would seek no sovereignty, but to serve and obey us all the days of his life, as he had done before. He urged his suit with much eloquence. When he saw that neither prayers nor promises were like to move us, at last he showed us what he had obtained from the nobility and chiefs of our estates, and what they had promised him under their handwrits. This was suddenly produced, and if we had cause then to be astonished we leave to the judgment of the King, the Queen, our uncles and other friends. Seeing ourself in his puissance, sequestrated from all whose advice we were wont to seek; yea, seeing them upon whose counsel and fidelity we relied upon, whose strength should maintain our authority,

without whom our power would be nothing - when we saw those almost wholly given up to his desire, and us left alone as a prey to him, we revolved with ourself, but could find no outgait. Indeed, he gave us little time to meditate, ever pressing us with continual and importunate suit.

In the end, when we saw no hope of being rid of him, never a man in Scotland caring about our liberty (for as it appeared from their handwrits and their profound silence, he had won them all) we were compelled to mitigate our displeasure and begin to think upon what he propounded. Then we had before our eyes the service he had done in times past, and the expectation of his persisting steadily in the future in the like duty; how unwilling our people are to receive a foreign king, unacquainted with their laws and customs; that they would not suffer us long to remain unmarried; that this realm, being divided in factions as it is, could not be kept in order unless our authority were assisted and furthered by a man capable of taking upon himself the execution of justice and the suppression of the rebellious, the travail whereof we may no longer sustain in our own person, being already wearied and almost broken by the frequent uproars and rebellions raised against us since we came into Scotland; how we were compelled to make four or more Lieutenants in divers parts of the realm, of whom the most part, abusing our authority, have raised our subjects against us; and seeing that to maintain the dignity of the royal name we should be compelled to think of some marriage, and

that our people would not well digest a foreign husband, and that of our own subjects there was none either for the reputation of his house or the worthiness of himself in wisdom, valour and all other good qualities, to be preferred or yet compared to him whom we have taken, we made ourself comply with the wish of our estates, of which we have spoken.

After he had by these means and many others shaken our determination, he extorted, partly by force and partly by prayer, our promise to take him to husband. Yet as he had ever feared alteration of our mind, never could we obtain from him by any argument any delay in the consummation of our marriage, till we might communicate the same to the King and Queen of France and our other friends. But as by bravado in the beginning he had won the first point, so ceased he never till by persuasions and importunate suit he has driven us by force to end the work begun at such time and in such form as he thought might best serve his turn; wherein we cannot dissemble that he hath used us otherwise than we would have wished, or as he had promised. For he was more ready to content those by whose consent, granted beforehand, he thinks he has obtained his purpose - though therein he has frustrated both us and them - than to satisfy us, or weigh what was convenient for us, who have been nourished in our own religion and never intend to leave the same for him or any man upon earth. In this we acknowledge our error; yet we beg that the King, the Queen his mother, and

our uncles and other friends lay it not to his charge. For now, since all is past and cannot be brought back again, we will make the best of it; and it must be thought, as it is in fact, that he is our husband, whom we will both love and honour, so that all who profess themselves our friends must profess the like friendship towards him who is inseparably joined with us. Although in some points he has behaved recklessly, which we are willing to impute to his affection for us, yet we desire the King, the Queen, our uncles and other friends to bear him no less goodwill, than if all had proceeded to this hour with their advice. And we assure them that in all that they may require of him they will find him ready to do them honour and service.'

This communication, they hoped, would counteract the evil reports widely spread against them. At home, they provided against rebellion by giving gifts for the present and promises for the future to the authors and those privy to the murder of the King. They wished to attach the greater part of the nobility to a bond, so that by these they could easily defy the rest, and destroy them if they persisted in opposition. So they called most of them together, and set before them a writing, the chief provisions of which were that they should swear to defend the Queen and Bothwell and all their doings; they, on the other hand, would

(1) I have found no evidence that such a bond was made.

(2) See the note on p. 162.

look to and set forward as far as they could the safety and convenience of the subscribers. Most of those present, having already been persuaded, signed. The rest realised the shame of taking such an oath, but they realised the danger of refusing: so they signed. (1) Moray was summoned, that he might lend his authority, which derived from his great integrity. On his journey he was warned by his friends to look to himself, not to spend the night at Seton house, where the Queen then was, with the leading associates, but to turn off towards the house of some friend in the neighbourhood. He answered that that was not possible, but that whatever happened he would assent to nothing shameful; the rest he would commit to God. He was asked to join the bond, by courtiers sent from the Queen. He replied that he could neither with honesty nor with honour enter the bond with the Queen, to whom he owed obedience in all proper things. He had, by means of the Queen, become reconciled with Bothwell; what he had then promised, he would carry out to the last syllable. But he did not think it right, or to the advantage of the state, to enter a bond of association with him or anyone else. For some days, the Queen spoke more graciously to him than usual, and promised to let him know what she thought of everything that had passed; but shame

(1) I have found no evidence that such a bond existed. (164.65)

The only contemporary evidence for the story is that of Buchanan. Keith believed that the whole story was proved false by the fact that Moray had been out of the country for over a month when the marriage took place, and the bond seems to have been pronounced. (Keith, II, 600) Buchanan, however, frequently retroverts in his narration.

put a seal to her lips, and she tried to win him over by means of friends. These also, overawed by his constant righteousness, dared not for shame admit openly what they wanted, and could achieve nothing in secret. Bothwell at last tackled him, had some talk with him, and told him blatantly that he had not committed the crime of his own accord, or by himself. When the other looked at him with contempt after this speech, Bothwell tried to enrage him and start a quarrel by his bitter taunting; but Moray gave no occasion for any quarrel, answered calmly, and protected himself while never yielding from his purpose. (1)

When Moray had been surrounded for some days by these dangers, he finally petitioned the Queen for leave to withdraw either to St. Andrews or Moray, on the ground that he did not seem to be of any service while at court. He wanted to be completely free from the suspicion of being connected with the uproar which he saw was bound to come. But he could not obtain this, and he could not remain in court without greatest danger. At last he was given leave to travel, but on one condition: that he must not remain in England, but proceed through Flanders to Germany, or anywhere else he wished. But to go to Flanders meant nothing less than to

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- (1) Knox's continuator, Spottiswoode, and Herries all tell this story, but they evidently culled the information from Buchanan. (Knox, II, 208; Spottiswoode, II, 55; Herries, 90) The only contemporary evidence for the story is that of Buchanan. Keith believed that the whole story was proved false by the fact that Moray had been out of the country for over a month when the marriage took place, and the Bond seems to have been proposed. (Keith, II, 609) Buchanan, however, frequently retroverts in his narration.

expose himself to certain danger; so at last, with difficulty, he obtained leave to proceed through England to France, and thence to wherever he should think fit. (1)

Now that she was rid of this honest and popular man, the Queen tried to remove the other obstacles to her tyranny. These were the lords who had been unwilling to subscribe to her crime, and seemed reluctant to accept the actions she had planned. She hated those especially who, seeing that her mind was not more favourable toward her son than it had been toward her husband, had banded together at Stirling - intending no treason, but determined to protect the child. (2) For his mother wanted to hand him over to the keeping of his stepfather. (3) No one doubted that Bothwell would have the child removed at the first opportunity, that he might not live to be the avenger of his father's death, or an obstacle to Bothwell's children's inheriting the throne. The leaders of the band were: the earls of Argyll, Morton, Mar, Atholl,

(1) Moray left Scotland on 10 April, 1567. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 1079)

(2) The lords pledged themselves, first, to seek the liberty of the Queen; secondly, the preservation of the Prince; thirdly, to pursue those who murdered the King. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 1181)

(3) This was alleged by Kirkcaldy of Grange, in a letter to Bedford, 26 April. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 499) Robert Melville told Cecil that Bothwell was determined to take the prince. (ibid., no. 501) On 4 June, the Privy Council explicitly denied rumours to this effect. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 515)

and Glencairn; lords Patrick Lindsay, and Robert Boyd; and their friends and supporters. (1) But Argyll, as lightly as he had joined them, betrayed their plans to the Queen a day or two later; and Boyd, by splendid promises, was induced to join the opposition. (2)

Besides these, the next to be suspected were those who dwelt on the English Border - the Humes, the Kerrs, and the Scotts - whose power they tried to reduce by any means they could devise. A convenient opportunity for this had presented itself. Bothwell prepared an expedition to Liddisdale, to wipe away the disgrace of the previous autumn, and by warlike fame decrease to some degree the odium of the King's death. (3) The heads of all the families of Teviotdale were ordered by the Queen to pass to Edinburgh Castle, to remain there for a short time in free ward, on the pretext that they could not be trusted in an expedition entered upon

(1) The names of the Confederate Lords are given by Kirkcaldy. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 502) Besides those mentioned above, Kirkcaldy names Cassilis, Eglinton, Montrose, Caithness, Ochiltree, Ruthven, Drummond, Gray, Glamis, Hume and Herries.

(2) Argyll seems to have joined the Hamiltons after the Queen's capture - about 21 June, 1567. (ibid, no. 527; Teulet, op. cit., 167) Robert, Lord Boyd joined the Queen's party before or soon after the wedding. He was admitted to the Privy Council on 17 May. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 509) He was in arms for the Queen in June. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 523)

(3) Proclamations were issued at the end of May for a punitive expedition to Liddisdale. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 514; Diurnal, 112)

(2) The Queen went to Northwick on 7 June, the day Bothwell set out for Liddisdale. (ibid; Diurnal, 119)

without their approval, and which their ill-will might foil. (1) While they were absent, their supporters might become used to strange masters, and their attachment to their lords be gradually weakened. But they thought that something deeper was concealed in that command, and they made for their homes by night; all except Andrew Kerr, who was believed to have been privy to the King's death, and Walter Kerr of Cessford, a man whose consummate integrity rendered him immune to suspicion. Hume, though frequently summoned to court by Bothwell, was convinced of his designs against him, and refused to come. Nevertheless, the expedition was entered upon according to plan, and the Queen removed to Borthwick Castle, about eight miles out of Edinburgh. (2)

Meanwhile those who had banded themselves together to protect the Prince, aware of Bothwell's malice towards them, decided that something should be attempted for their own security, and at the same time for the good name of the Scots among foreign nations, by bringing to justice the author of the King's murder. Believing therefore that action would bring them the support of the people, they assembled two

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- (1) Certain Border chieftains, mainly Kers and Rutherfords, were charged to compare before the Queen and Council 'to give their advice' on the ordering of the Marches. They refused, and were again ordered to compare personally. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 514) It seems that few obeyed the command. (Teulet, op. cit., 160)
- (2) The Queen went to Borthwick on 7 June, the day Bothwell set out for Liddisdale. (ibid; Diurnal, 112)

thousand horsemen, so secretly that the Queen knew nothing of what went on, till Hume, with a section of the Army, advanced on Borthwick, where he laid siege to the castle, in which Bothwell was alone with the Queen. (1) But the other party of the confederates did not convene at the time arranged, and he himself had not a large enough force to stop up every egress. Operations were carried out with less care than was necessary, because they believed that the enterprise had been abandoned by the others. The result was that first Bothwell, then the Queen, (dressed in men's clothes) escaped. They fled straight to Dunbar. (2) The confederates did not convene in time, prevented by Atholl. Afraid of undertaking so serious an enterprise, or else held back by his own hesitant nature, he kept the others at Stirling, until the opportunity of accomplishing their aim slipped through their fingers. (3) But to avoid the slur that they had attempted nothing, the major party was sent to lay siege to Edinburgh. (4) The castle was held

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- (1) Morton and Hume besieged Borthwick Castle on 10 June, with 500 or 600 men. (Diurnal, 112; Teulet, op. cit., 160)
- (2) Bothwell escaped to Dunbar in the night of 10 June and the Queen followed the next night. (Diurnal, 112-3; Teulet, op. cit., 161)
- (3) Atholl was not with Morton, Mar and Lindsay in Edinburgh on 11 June. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 514, 515) He came to Edinburgh on 14 June. (Diurnal, 113)
- (4) The Confederates entered Edinburgh on 11 June. (ibid, 112; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 514)

by James Balfour, appointed by Bothwell, and one of the chief regicides. He was either the author of or a participator in all their plans. But he had not received the reward or the gratitude for his services which he had expected from the tyrants, for they had tried to deprive him of the command of the castle. So he turned out the adherents of both factions, and held the place under his own authority. He then promised the avengers of the King's death that he would not harm them, and negotiated terms with them for surrendering the Castle. (1)

There were in the town certain leaders of the Queen's faction: John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Geo. Gordon, earl of Huntly, John Leslie, bishop of Ross. When they saw that the enemy were likely to take the town, they went to the Mercat Cross and offered themselves as leaders to the people. (2) Only a few joined them, however, and

(1) James Balfour had been made Captain of the Castle on 8 May. (Diurnal, III) He was widely suspected of having been an accomplice in the murder of Darnley. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 488, 490; Keith, II, 519, 530) He has been selected as the principal author of the plot, though without much conclusive evidence. (Mahon, Tragedy of Kirk O' Field) In September, 1569, he was charged with the murder and tried. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 1133) According to Melville, Bothwell quarrelled with Balfour after the murder, and preferred another man (Benyston) as Governor of the Castle. Balfour then bargained with the Confederates. (Melville, Memoirs, 179) This is partially confirmed by the Diurnal, which states that the Edinburgh citizens were surprised that the garrison allowed the Confederates to enter the city. (Diurnal, 112)

(2) Cf. Diurnal, 113; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 523; Teulet, op. cit., 161.

they were compelled to withdraw and seek refuge in the Castle. They were taken in by Balfour, who sent them away safely, a few days after, by the back way. (1) Balfour had not yet concluded negotiations with the other faction, so he was not willing to forego all hope of pardon from the Queen's side. The town easily fell to the Confederate Lords, for it had often been oppressed with new taxes by the Queen, and they expected severity in the present crisis. (2) They would brook no tyranny, and as often as they could get an opportunity, they poured contumely on the crimes of the Queen's faction. (3) While the party of lords carelessly carried out their operations at Borthwick, the Queen and Bothwell, having escaped by night by the negligence of the guards, arrived with a few men at Dunbar, which they had strongly fortified. Then a startling change followed: they who had recently been desperate now seemed to themselves to be strong enough to crush their adversaries, for there flowed to their standard all those who had been connected with their crime, and all those who sought the protection of the royal name. (4) On the other hand, the fighters for

(1) ibid. They remained in the Castle 5 days.

(2) There is nothing in the Edinburgh Burgh Records to support this allegation. During her personal reign, Mary levied less than £1500 Scots on the burgh - much less than the sum levied by Moray during his three years' Regency. (Edinburgh Burgh Records, III, 177, 198, 201, 206, 223, 250, 277, 284)

(3) The Edinburgh citizens made no effort to resist the Confederates. (Diurnal, 112) The provost and other leaders supported the Confederates at Carberry. (Teulet, op.cit., 166)

(4) The Queen summoned the lieges to her assistance on 14 June. (Diurnal, 114) By the time she reached Haddington on 15 June, she had 600 Horse; and by the time she reached Seton the same day she had 1600 men. (Teulet, op.cit., 162)

freedom found themselves faced with great danger. For, contrary to their hopes, few had rallied in response to the news of their great enterprise. The people's enthusiasm, as always, soon ebbed. A large number of the nobility either opposed them or waited for the outcome of their dangerous enterprise. Besides, even if they had been greater in number, they were lacking in any kind of equipment for storming the castle.

Thus they saw no hope for their plans at this time. They were reduced almost to necessity, and talked of abandoning the struggle. The Queen put an end to their doubts. Her strength gave her high spirits, and she decided to march towards Leith with her host, and risk her fortune in that neighbourhood. (1) She believed that a larger number of people would join her as she advanced, and that her aggressive approach would alarm her enemies. For her success in the past had so built up her spirits that she believed no one would be able to oppose her. In this flatterers encouraged her, especially Edmond Hay, a lawyer. (2) He asserted that all would fall before her boldness, and that the enemy, who had neither means nor plans, would flee at the

(1) The Queen intended to be in Leith by 15 June, but only reached as far as Seton. (Diurnal, 114)

(2) Edmond Hay was one of Bothwell's counsel in the trial of 12 April, 1567. (Keith, II, 542; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 489)

news of her approach. The event turned out otherwise, however, and nothing would have served her better at that particular time than delay. For if only she had stayed three more days at Dunbar, the fighters for public justice, being destitute of military supplies, would have been compelled to disperse, having made their effort for liberty in vain. But the Queen left Dunbar, impelled by false advice or vain hopes, and made her way slowly, distributing arms among the country people she gathered about her from the neighbourhood. At length they came at night to the village of Seton, and as the place could not hold such a host, they were divided between the two nearby villages, both of which are called Preston. (1)

The alarm was brought to Edinburgh a little before midnight. At once the signal was given and the city rushed to arms. Rudely awakened from sleep, each man hastened as best he could to the neighbouring muir, and about sunrise a fairly large crowd had collected and formed into marching order. From there they marched to Musselburgh, to cross the river Esk before the bridge and fords could be taken by the enemy. (2) Musselburgh is only two miles from

(1) The Queen reached Seton in the night of 14 June.
(Diurnal, 114; Teulet, op. cit., 162)

(2) They crossed the Magdalen Bridge at Musselburgh early in the morning of 15 June. (ibid)

Preston. When they saw no one standing against them or anything moving here, they posted watches and broke fast. Meanwhile their patrols had fallen in with a few horsemen and driven them back to the village; but they dared not advance further for fear of ambush, and returned to their base without certain intelligence, except that the enemy were on the move. The Vindicators, therefore, marched out of Musselburgh, and saw the enemy drawn up in battle-order, holding their position on the top of the opposite hill. The rising was so steep that they could not approach them without danger; so they wheeled a little to the right, that they might have the sun at their backs, have a gentler slope to climb, and at the same time fight on less unequal terms. This tactic at first deceived the Queen, who thought they were retreating, and making for Dalkeith, a neighbouring town belonging to the earl of Morton. She had persuaded herself that their reverence for the name of royalty would be such that no one would dare to stand against her. But soon it was to appear that authority is gained by good actions and may be lost by bad, and majesty without virtue vanishes as a shadow. As they marched the people of Dalkeith brought them all kinds of provisions in plenty. The men satisfied their hungers and quenched their thirst, which was what troubled them most. When they reached a position where the ground levelled, they marched against the enemy in two lines. The first was commanded by the earl of Morton, assisted by Alexander Hume and his followers. The second was led by the

earls of Glencairn, Mar and Atholl. (1)

When they halted in order for battle, there came to them du Croc, the French envoy. Through an interpreter, he told them how zealous he had always been for the advantage and public peace of Scotland, that he was now still anxious, if possible, to help to bring about the peaceful settlement of the quarrel without violence or slaughter, to the mutual convenience of both sides. He offered his services in this task. The Queen was not unwilling to entertain a peaceful solution. That they might more readily believe this, she promised them pardon for the present and oblivion of the past, and gave her solemn word that no one would be punished for having taken up arms against the head of the state. (2) When the interpreter had conveyed this message, Morton replied that they had not taken up arms against the Queen, but against the murderers of the King. If the Queen handed them over for punishment, or dissociated herself from them, then she would understand that nothing was more desirable to him and the rest of his countrymen than to show their duty towards

(1) Buchanan's account of the brief campaign is fuller than but fairly consistent with the accounts given by Melville, the Diurnal and that of the anonymous French officer given in Teulet, op. cit. 162 ff.

(2) According to the anonymous report in Teulet, op. cit., 163, du Croc visited the Confederates before he went to the Queen.

Bothwell. Again Bothwell declined, and when he could not with honour escape, the Queen interposed her authority,

her. Otherwise, no agreement were possible. They were not in arms, added Glencairn, to seek pardon, but rather to confer it. Du Croc saw their resolution, and as he realised the truth of their words and the justness of their demands, requested a safe-conduct, and set out for Edinburgh.

Meanwhile the Queen's army occupied the old English camp. The place was naturally higher than its surroundings, and surrounded by an earthworks and ditch. Bothwell, mounted on a splendid horse, rode in front of the line and challenged, through a herald, to settle the conflict by single combat. From the opposite ranks stepped forward a noble young man, James Murray, who had before this offered himself by a placard, as I have already related, though he had concealed his identity. Bothwell refused to meet him, on the grounds that he was not of equal wealth or rank. Then came forward William Murray, the eldest brother of James Murray. He asserted that (if money were disregarded in this matter) he was as sufficient a man as he, and greater than he in the antiquity of his family and the honesty of his name. He also Bothwell refused, as being only a knight, and of the second rank. Then many of the first order of rank, foremost among them being Patrick Lindsay, offered themselves. Lindsay demanded, as the only reward he wished for all the labours he had undertaken for the preservation of Scotland and the upholding of her glory, to be allowed to fight Bothwell. Again Bothwell declined, and when he could not with honour escape, the Queen interposed her authority,

forbade the combat and ended the contention. (1) She then rode round the ranks and investigated the attitude of her men. The relations and supporters of Bothwell were eager to fight. Others, when asked, said that there were many warlike and experienced men in the opposite ranks, that the engagement would be perilous for the Queen. For themselves, they were ready to fight. But the ordinary people, of whom they had a great number, loathed the cause for which they were in arms. It seemed only right that Bothwell should defend his cause by himself, than that so many noble men, and above all the Queen herself, should put themselves in total danger. Yet if she was resolute to fight, the battle could be left over to the next day. For the Hamiltons were said to be coming with five hundred horsemen, and were not far off; when they joined the army, they might safely risk a decisive engagement, especially as the earl of Huntly and John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, had collected their relations and supporters, and would have reached the Queen by next day. (2)

(1) The French officer's account is substantially the same as Buchanan's, but with one important variation: he states that Bothwell was '*prêt et appareillé pour se combattre et de bonne volonté*,' and this is confirmed by Du Croc. (Teulet, *op. cit.*, 164, 178) A contemporary letter confirms the details, but the writer believed, with Buchanan, that Bothwell did not intend to fight. (*Cal. Scot. Papers*, II, no. 522)

(2) The anonymous French officer also states that the Queen's chief supporters were unwilling to engage, and that they temporised because Huntly and Arbroath were believed to be approaching with 800 men. (Teulet, *op. cit.*, 165) The reinforcements were in Linlithgow on 15 June, and by the time they approached Edinburgh the Queen was already a prisoner. (*Cal. Scot. Papers*, II, no. 523)

The Queen was furious at this, and wept sorely, throwing reproaches at the leaders. She sent a messenger to the opposite ranks, telling them to send to her William Kirkcaldy of Grange, with whom she wanted to discuss terms. (1) Meanwhile, she told them, their army must halt. The Vindicators' forces, therefore, halted, but in a place low enough and near enough to prevent the enemy's artillery from doing them harm. While the Queen and Kirkcaldy conferred, Bothwell (for whom the colloquy had been cunningly sought) was ordered to look to himself. He made for Dunbar so hastily that he ordered two horsemen who followed him to return - he was so much aware of the ill-will towards him that he did not trust even his friends. (2) The Queen, when she believed Bothwell to be out of danger, reached an agreement with Kirkcaldy that the remainder of her forces should disperse without harm. She went with him to the lords, clad only in a short and shabby tunic which hardly reached below her knees. (3) She was received by the front rank

(1) Cf. Teulet, op. cit.; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 523)

(2) The French officer states that Bothwell was accompanied by about a dozen men. Du Croc says 20 to 30 men. (Teulet, op. cit., 166, 178)

(3) The French officer states that Kirkcaldy demanded that the Queen should accompany the Confederates to Edinburgh as surety for Bothwell, who was allowed to escape. (ibid) Another contemporary account states that Bothwell escaped before the Queen began negotiations with Kirkcaldy. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 522) The Diurnal confirms this. (Diurnal, 114)

with something of the old reverence. She requested that they allow her to go and meet the Hamiltons, who were said to be approaching. She promised that she would return, and ordered Morton to vouch for her. (For she hoped that she would achieve what she desired by flattery and promises.) When she could not have her will, she burst out with the most bitter reproaches to the leaders, reminding them of favours they owed her. (1) This was heard in silence. When she reached the second rank, a widespread shout was raised: 'Burn the whore! Burn the murderer!' (2) There was among the soldiers a banner, bearing a picture of the King Henry, lying dead, and beside him his infant son praying God for vengeance on the murderers. (3) Two soldiers held this banner stretched on two pikes, and wherever she turned they thrust it before her eyes. At this spectacle she became faint, and would have fallen from her horse if she had not been supported. But she recovered, and revealed as much defiant spirit as before. Threats, maledictions, tears and all the other signs of women's grief, poured from her. While they were on the journey, she devised every delay she could,

(1) Cf. the French officer's account: 'elle commença par le chemin de tancer et reprendre premièrement milord Lindesay de sa grande furie, lui rejetant en dessous le temps passé.....' (Teulet, op. cit., 166)

(2) This is alleged also by Drury, 20 June, 1567. (C.S.P. For., 1566-68, no. 1324)

(3) A coloured drawing of this banner has been preserved.

(3) (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 519)

(Teulet, op. cit., 166) He does not mention the incident of the banner's being raised. Drury, however, told the story on 18 June. (C.S.P. For., 1566-68, no. 1313)

expecting that help would arrive. From the crowd someone exclaimed, 'You need not expect the Hamiltons, there are no armed men within miles.' At last she entered Edinburgh, her face so begrimed with dust and tears that it looked as if it had been bedaubed with dirt. All the people crowded to see the spectacle. Amid deep silence she passed through most of the town, the streets so crowded that they could scarcely push through in single file. As she climbed the steps to the apartment set aside for her, (1) a woman in the crowd cried, 'God bless her!' She turned on the people, and cried among other threats that she would burn the town, and quench the flames with the blood of its treacherous citizens.(2) When, indeed, she showed herself in tears at the window, under which a mob had gathered, there were some who were deeply moved at this sudden change of fortune. But the banner of which we have spoken was at once held up before her eyes, and immediately she shut the window and went within. (3) She was there two days, and then, by order of the lords, she was

(1) The Queen was imprisoned in the 'provost's lodging,' which was the house of James Henderson of Fordel. (Diurnal, 115; Teulet, op. cit., 166) There is an interesting discussion on the location of the house in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, LXXIV, 166, where it is concluded that the house stood on the North side of the High Street, where Cockburn Street now begins.

(2) There is no confirmatory evidence for this allegation. The Queen entered Edinburgh on 15 June, at night. (Diurnal, 115)

(3) Cf the French officer's account: 'Et par nuit, elle vient en une des fenêtres de sa chambre et cria secours...' (Teulet, op. cit., 166) He does not mention the incident of the banner's being raised. Drury, however, told the story on 18 June. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 1313)

committed to prison in the castle in Lochleven. (1) For Balfour still held Edinburgh Castle, and though he supported the cause of the defenders of liberty, he had not yet arranged the final surrender of the castle. (2)

Meanwhile the bishop of Dunblane, who had been sent as ambassador to France to justify the Queen's marriage, and was unaware of all that had passed since his leaving Scotland, arrived at the court at that very time that these things were happening. A day was fixed for the deliverance of his message. That same day, two letters arrived for the King and his mother. One was from Du Croc, the French ambassador, the other from Ninian Cockburn, who had served for some years as commander of cavalry in France. Both contained accounts of what had lately occurred in Scotland. The Scots ambassador was introduced, and began to address a long and carefully-prepared speech to the rulers, partly excusing the Queen for entering upon marriage without the advice of her friends, partly praising Bothwell far beyond the truth. The French Queen broke into his harangue to produce the other messages from Scotland, which described the capture of the Queen of Scots and the

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- (1) The Queen was held captive overnight on Sunday, 15 June, and sent to Holyrood in the evening of Monday, 16 June. (Diurnal, 115) On 17 June she was sent to Lochleven. (ibid; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 522)
- (2) Balfour joined the Confederates a day or two after the Queen's surrender. (Diurnal, 116; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 527)

flight of Bothwell. The unexpected news struck the ambassador dumb. Some of those present grinned at this unlooked-for development; some laughed aloud; but all considered that it had not been undeserved. (1)

About the same time Bothwell sent one of his familiar servants to Edinburgh Castle, to bring him a small silver casket bearing inscriptions which showed that it had once belonged to Francis, king of the French. In this there were letters, nearly all of them written in the Queen's hand, in which the murder of the King and practically all that followed was clearly revealed. In almost every one there was a post-script - 'Let this be burned as soon as read.' But Bothwell, aware of the Queen's capriciousness, of which he had seen many examples in the past few years, preserved the letters, so that if any quarrel should arise between them, he could use them as evidence that he was not the author, but only an accomplice, in the murder of the King. Balfour gave this casket to Bothwell's servant, but first he warned the leaders of the opposing faction what he had sent, and by whom, and where. The casket was taken, and many important discoveries were made, bringing to light what had formerly been merely matter for suspicion. The whole

(1) There is no confirmatory evidence for this story. The letter of Ninian Cockburn might well be the anonymous account of events contained in Teulet, *op. cit.*, 158 ff.

no. 561) By 10 August he was in France, (ibid., no. 561) and passed to Shetland by 12 August. (ibid., no. 562) Bothwell's account of his movements confirms this. (*Les Archives du Comte de Buchan*, Bann. Club, 43)

(3) Bothwell may have been mistaken for a pirate. But there is no evidence that he committed piracy of any kind. The allegation is taken from the *Book of Articles*. (Hosack, 548)

crime, in fact, was completely revealed. (1)

Bothwell, having failed in all his plans, destitute of all help and hope of recovering the kingdom, fled first to the Orkneys, and then to the Shetlands. (2) Here, reduced to utter poverty, he set up as pirate. (3) But the Queen, though frequently urged to break away from Bothwell's cause - for when he had paid the penalty, she might easily have been reinstated with the glad consent of all the nation - that defiant woman, still acting in the spirit of her former greatness, and goaded by her present troubles, replied that she would willingly endure the worst hardships of ill-fortune with him, rather than pass her life in royal magnificence without him.

Among the lords there was a difference of opinion. For the avengers of the King's death hoped that when the news of their great enterprise was known, a large number of, if not all, the nation would support them. But things fell out very differently. The people's resentment was mollified,

partly by the passing of time, partly by consideration of

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- (1) The Casket was said to have reached the hands of Morton on 19 June. The servant of Bothwell was George Dalgleish. Buchanan's description of the taking of the Casket follows Morton's account, which is in Cal.Scot.Papers, II, App.no.II.
 - (2) Bothwell embarked at Dunbar about 19 June. (Cal.Scot.Papers, II, no. 527; C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 1317) By 16 July he had spent some time at Huntly's castle of Strathbogie, and in Spynie, the bishop of Moray's palace. (Cal.Scot.Papers, II, no.561) By 10 August he was in Orkney, (ibid, no. 591) and passed to Shetland by 14 August. (ibid, no.616) Bothwell's account of his movements confirms this. (Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel, Bann. Club, 22)
 - (3) Bothwell may have been mistaken for a pirate. But there is no evidence that he committed piracy of any kind. The allegation is taken from the Book of Articles, (Hosack, 548)

the inconstancy of human affairs, and it turned into commiseration. (1) There were some nobles who now deplored the Queen's downfall no less than they had deprecated her ruthlessness in the past. In both cases their behaviour derived more from inconstancy of mind than from any regard for either party; thus it clearly appeared that in those troublous circumstances they considered not the peace of the nation but their own hopes of private gain. Many, looking for advantage, weighed up the strength of the parties, and seemed inclined to join fortune with the strongest. And the most powerful party seemed to be those who either consented to the murder or to please the Queen lent their support to the murder after it had been committed. The leaders of this party convened at Hamilton. (2) Trusting the strength of their confederacy, they would receive neither letters nor messengers from the opposing faction, regarding the mutual settlement of a peace. (3) They did not cease to use violent

(1) This did not apply to the citizens of Edinburgh, apparently. On 14 July, Throckmorton wrote that the common people, especially the women, were 'most furious and impudent against the Queen.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 560)

(2) The Queen's supporters were led by Huntly, Ross and the Hamiltons. They were joined by Argyll and Boyd. On 21 June they were only 12 leagues from Edinburgh, but they withdrew, and on 29 June they subscribed a Bond at Dumbarton, engaging to liberate the Queen. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 527, 536) Early in July they were at Hamilton. (*ibid*, no. 555)

(3) Several attempts were made to win over the Queen's supporters. On 3 July Maitland was sent to woo Argyll, without success. (Diurnal, 117) Although Morton believed his party to be strong enough to ignore the Hamiltons (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 551) Sir James Melville was sent to invite them to assist at the prince's coronation. (*ibid*, no. 581; Memoirs, 190) They replied politely, but affirmed their independence of action. (*ibid*)

language against them. And they were the bolder because places, but they could reach no settlement of their plans, a large number of the nobles, who regarded the movement of fortune rather than the justness of the cause, had not joined the liberators. They believed that whoever had not joined them were on their own side. Furthermore, they ascribed arrogance to the avengers of the King's murder, because they had occupied the capital before informing themselves, who were numerous and powerful, of their intentions. The opposing faction - though they had invited them, not ordered them, to join their company - lest anything should remain to accuse them of arrogance in any way, arranged for the ministers of the church to write a general letter, to be sent to each individual, exhorting them that in so dangerous a time the public peace should not be disturbed, but all private resentment should be laid aside, and only what was best for the safety of all should be considered. (1) But these letters accomplished no more than had those previously sent by the lords. All declined in the same

manner, so that it appeared that the matter had been arranged among them. (2) Then the Queen's faction met in various

(1) The General Assembly met on 25 June. Buchanan was Moderator. Argyll and his party were each invited to attend the Assembly meeting appointed for 20 July, but they refused. The text of the letters missive sent to them is in Booke of the Universall Kirk, I, 94-6.

(2) Their 'Letters of Excusation' are printed in Booke of the Universall Kirk, I, 101-2.

(3) Cf. Idem, nos. 574, 575, etc.

places, but they could reach no settlement of their plans, and they parted.

Meanwhile the avengers of the King's death urged the Queen (whom they could not separate from the authors of the King's murder) to resign the crown, either on the grounds of ill-health or any other honourable pretext, and entrust the care of her son and the government to any of the nobles she chose. (1) At last she reluctantly named as guardians of her son: James, earl of Moray, if he did not refuse the charge when he returned; James, duke of Chateherault; Matthew, earl of Lennox; Archibald, earl of Argyll; John, earl of Atholl; James, earl of Morton; Alexander, earl of Glencairn, and John, earl of Mar. (2) Also, procurators were sent to arrange that the King should be crowned at Stirling or wherever else was convenient, and his accession proclaimed. This was done on 25 July, 1567. (3)

- (1) On 24 July, the Queen signed papers declaring that she voluntarily resigned her authority to the prince, as she was unfit to govern because of ill-health. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 531 ff; Diurnal, 118; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 574) It is well authenticated, however, that Mary was threatened with public prosecution if she did not sign. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 574, 576; Melville, Memoirs, 189, 190)
- (2) Mary signed two commissions of regency: one to Moray alone, the other to the lords named above, which was to be effective in case Moray refused the office. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 539, ff; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 576)
- (3) Cf. ibid, nos. 574, 576, etc.

A few days previously, James, earl of Moray, having learned of the state of affairs at home, had returned through France. He had been received at the court with a fair degree of courtesy, but not nearly with so much favour as had been shown to Hamilton, whose faction, the French King believed, was stronger and more attached to his interests. (1) This had been contrived mainly by the Guises, who worked against all Moray's endeavours. When he had been dismissed, the Archbishop of Glasgow, who called himself the ambassador of the Queen of Scots, assured the court that Moray, albeit absent, was yet the chief of the rebel faction, that their activities in the past had all been carried out under his direction, and that now he had been recalled by his associates as their leader; consequently men were sent to bring him back. But he had been forewarned by friends, and had sailed from Dieppe before the King's letters arrived. (2) In England he was received with honour by all ranks of men, and escorted home. Here, he was welcomed joyfully by the people, but especially by the vindicators, who urged him to undertake

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- (1) According to Norris, English ambassador in France, Moray was treated with great respect at the French court, and was offered title and lands. This was in July, 1567. He left for England on 7 July. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, nos. 1385, 1386, 1405)
- (2) There was certainly some attempt made to stay Moray's departure. He was detained at Poissy on 10 July, but escaped secretly to England, which he reached about 23 July. (ibid., nos. 1427, 1428, 1444, 1488, 1500, 1501)

the management of the kingdom during the infancy of the King his nephew. (1) He, alone, because of his relationship, his integrity proven through many difficulties, the grace that came of his many virtues, and the Queen's request, could hold that privilege with the least possible envy. Moray realised that what they said was true, nevertheless he asked for a few days to consider the matter. (2) Meanwhile he wrote urgently to the leaders of the other faction, especially to Argyll, whom he least wanted to offend, because of their relationship and old friendship. (3) He told him how things stood, and what the child-King's party required of him. He prayed him by their blood-ties, by their friendship, by the safety of their native country, to give him an opportunity of meeting, that with his help he might free himself and the country from these troubles. (4) To the others he wrote according to the requirements and circumstances of each. From all alike he asked that since affairs were so disturbed that they could not continue without

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- (1) Cf Throckmorton's account. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 595) Moray reached Edinburgh on 11 August.
- (2) Cf ibid; Melville, Memoirs, 193.
- (3) The Countess of Argyll was Moray's sister.
- (4) On 14 August Throckmorton reported that Argyll had agreed to meet Moray about 14 or 18 August. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 599)
- (5) The Countess of Argyll sent a 'protestation' to be delivered at the coronation ceremony in Stirling. (ibid) They seem to have subscribed a Bond to liberate the Queen, but Argyll and Huntly were not there to join it. (ibid, no. 603)

a head of state, they should convene in some suitable place, and provide by common agreement for the arrangement of affairs. At last, when he could not obtain a colloquy with one faction, nor any postponement by the other, he was with the unanimous approval of all who were with him, elected Regent. (1)

On 29th August, after a brilliant harangue delivered by John Knox, James VI was crowned. (2) James, earl of Morton and Alexander Hume took the oaths on his behalf, that he would obey the doctrine and religious rites then being taught, protect it as far as he could, and fight all opposition to it. A few days after, those who had convened at Hamilton complained that a handful of men, and these not the most powerful, had taken it upon themselves to arrange the government without their consent, for which they had not even waited. They canvassed the rest of the nobility, but very few besides those who had first convened endorsed their opinions. (3) Most wished to remain spectators rather than players in the events that were being enacted. At last

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- (1) Moray was proclaimed Regent on 22 August. (ibid, no. 607; Diurnal, 119; Reg. Privy Council, I, 548) It should be noted that Buchanan makes no mention of Moray's meeting with the Queen at Lochleven.
- (2) Descriptions of the coronation are given by the Diurnal, 118-9; and Throckmorton, Cal.Scot.Papers, II, no. 581.
- (3) The Queen's party at Hamilton sent a 'protestation' to be delivered at the coronation ceremony in Stirling. (ibid) They seem to have subscribed a Bond to liberate the Queen, but Argyll and Huntly were not there to join it. (ibid, no. 603)

(4) Parliament met on 13 December. (ibid, I, 2; Diurnal, 126)

they wrote to the King's party that Argyll was prepared to come and confer with the earl of Moray. The letter, which was addressed to the earl of Moray, without any higher title, was by the Council's advice rejected. The messenger was dismissed, practically without an answer. But Argyll knew what had offended in the letter; he trusted the Regent's friendship, and came to Edinburgh with several of the leaders of his faction. (1) Here he was satisfied that the regency had been created hastily because of the great necessity of circumstances, and not through contempt of any who were absent. (2) A few days after he came to the parliament. (3)

The King having been crowned, and the Regent's authority practically established, the country was at rest from conflict. But the peace was uncertain: the restlessness of men's minds and the open resentment of many seemed to portend some unexpected evil. In this uncertain state of affairs, all eyes were turned to the parliament. The day appointed for its opening was the 25th August. (4) The attendance was

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- (1) A document, 'Occurrences out of Scotland,' dated 12 September, states that the Queen's party wrote demanding a conference at Linlithgow, which was refused; they then asked leave to come to Edinburgh to parley, which was also refused. Argyll, Boyd, Kilwinning and Livingstone then came to Edinburgh without leave. (ibid, no. 617)
- (2) Argyll came to terms with the Regent on 15 September. (ibid, nos. 619, 620)
- (3) Argyll, Huntly and Herries all attended this parliament. (A.P.S., III, 3, 4)
- (4) Parliament met on 15 December. (A.P.S., III, 3; Diurnal, 126)

greater than ever before in men's memories. (1) There the authority of the Regent was confirmed by public statute. (2) Opinions varied as to the Queen. The entire contriving of the wicked crime was manifestly proved to be hers, by many signs and testimonies, especially by her own letters to Bothwell. (3) So some, who were horrified by the enormity of the crime, and others who had been made privy to the plot by the Queen and wanted to remove the evidence of the crime they shared, thought she should underlie the rigours of the law. The majority decided to retain her in custody. (4)

After the parliament had risen, the winter was spent in establishing law-courts and punishing offenders. The French and English ambassadors were given audience. Neither was allowed to meet the Queen, as she was a prisoner of state. (5) Only Bothwell remained in arms. He was wandering about the Orkneys and more distant islands, buccaneering. A fleet was sent to apprehend him. (6)

(1) The attendance was certainly not greater than that of the Parliament of 1560.

(2) Cf A.P.S., III, 13.

(3) This refers to the Act, Anent the retention of our Sovereign Lordis Motheris person, A.P.S., III, 27.

(4) ibid. It is not known, however, what number constituted the majority.

(5) Throughout the Queen's imprisonment, neither the English nor the French ambassador was allowed access to her. (Cal.Scot. Papers, II, nos. 558, 560, etc; Teulet, op.cit., 171 ff.

(6) Kirkcaldy embarked on a punitive expedition against Bothwell on 14 August. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 591)

But the treasury was so poor, that the money required for furnishing it was borrowed from James Douglas, earl of Morton, who took the burden of the country's necessity on his own purse. (1) Bothwell was practically safe to act as he would, confident in the roughness of the sea, which was at its most tumultuous during winter, and the poverty of the treasury, which he himself had exhausted. Thus he was almost taken by the sudden arrival of William Kirkcaldy of Grange, who commanded the fleet. Some of his associates were taken. He himself escaped with a few comrades by the opposite shore of the island, where large ships could not follow because of rocks and shallows. (2) Soon after, he sailed for Denmark. (3) There he was unable to give a sufficient account of himself, where he had come from, and where he was going; shortly after, he was recognised by some merchants, and committed to close confinement. After nearly ten years' imprisonment, he was driven mad by the filth and other discomforts of his dungeon, and ended his unworthy life in well-deserved misery. (4)

(1) The ships and crews were furnished by the citizens of Dundee, by order of the Privy Council. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 544)

(2) Kirkcaldy's ship was grounded when almost at the point of taking Bothwell. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 620; Melville, Memoirs, 186)

(3) Bothwell arrived at Bergen in November, 1567, and was immediately imprisoned by Frederic II. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 636)

(4) For an account of Bothwell's later life, see Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel.

Early in the spring, the Regent decided to travel throughout the whole country, in order to take stock of the results of the disturbances of recent years, and to hold justice-ayres. (1) This was interpreted variously according to each man's attitude and circumstances. The men of the opposition faction spoke out against the Regent's severity - or cruelty, as they called it. This was formidable only to those who, because of the enormity of their crimes, could not bear with the laws or justice after the great licence of recent times. But the freeing of the Queen held out hope of reward to some and pardon to others. For these reasons many - even of those who had been chief actors in her capture - were led to join the opposing faction. Maitland, much as he supported the interests of the Queen, loathed Bothwell as a perfidious scoundrel who threatened his own life. (2) Thus because he despaired of destroying him as long as the Queen was safe, he appeared to support in parliament those who wanted to submit her to the laws and

(1) On 30 December, 1567, the Privy Council approved of the Regent's holding justice-ayres all over the country, beginning with Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Lanark in the following spring. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 599) According to Melville, Moray did less than he might have done to secure the peace. (Melville, Memoirs, 198)

(2) Maitland had reason to hate Bothwell, who had opposed his restitution in 1566. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 415, 425) After the ascendancy of Bothwell, Maitland escaped from court in fear of his life. (Diurnal, 112)

was named as one of the murderers in the accusatory placards, and by Lennox, 12 March, 1567. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 488, 490; Asiatic, I., 626-30)

constitutions of our forebears. (1) In the same position was James Balfour, who considered Bothwell to be his inveterate enemy. (2) Both these men, it was believed, were privy to the plot to murder the King. (3) But when Bothwell was taken and committed to prison in Denmark, they turned their attention to the liberation of the Queen; not only because they hoped that from her they would more easily gain impunity for the crime in which they had participated, but also because they believed that she who had destroyed her husband, would be no less ruthless towards her son, whose infancy and the protection of whose royal name had deprived her of the kingdom. They considered his removal necessary for their safety, lest the son, when he

(1) Buchanan here repeats his libel on Maitland, The Chamaeleon. (Vernacular Writings, 47)

(2) Balfour seems to have swung from close friendship for to bitter enmity towards Bothwell. (Melville, Memoirs, 179, 180) He seems to have merited du Croc's epithet, 'un vrai traître.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 527)
For an account of his career, see Brunton and Haig, 110-14.

(3) According to Nau, Bothwell accused Lethington of complicity on 15 June, 1567. (Nau, 48) On 3 January, 1568, Hay of Talla named Lethington and Balfour, among others, as having signed a murder band. (Diurnal, 127, 128) Mary told Lord Scrope that Lethington was guilty. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 678) By December, 1568, the Queen's party were naming him as one of the murderers. (ibid, no. 194) In January, 1569, the Declaration of Huntly and Argyll charged him with devising the murder. (ibid, no. 947) In September, 1569, he was publicly charged, along with Balfour, with having been privy to the murder. (ibid, no. 1133) Balfour was suspected from the beginning. He was named as one of the murderers in the defamatory placards, and by Lennox, 12 March, 1567. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 488, 490; Keith, II, 526-30)

assumed the government, should become the avenger of his father's death. (1) There were, moreover, some manifest signs that the Queen's mind did not shrink from such a crime. She had often been heard to say that the boy would not live long, and that she had been told by a skilled astrologer in Paris that her first child would not live more than a year. In that very hope, it was believed, she herself had gone some time before to Stirling to bring the child back with her to Edinburgh. With this suspicion in mind, John Erskine, the governor of the castle, would not suffer the boy to be taken away from him, and a number of the nobility convened at Stirling and made a band to protect the child. (2) The Hamiltons also bent all their resources to liberating the Queen, because if the boy were removed by her, they would move one step nearer the crown. (3) It could not then be very difficult or dangerous to remove her, for she was hated for her many crimes, and after her restoration she would naturally follow out an even more ruthless policy than before. Argyll and Huntly, whose

(1) This far-seeing motive is a favourite with Buchanan. He attributes it also to Bothwell, supra, 146.

(2) This repeats the story told supra, 146. There is no evidence that the Queen thought this of her son.

(3) This repeats allegations made by Buchanan in Ane Admonitioun, 1571. (Vernacular Writings, 31) The Confederates accused the Hamiltons of wishing to have Mary executed in July, 1567, for the same dynastic reason. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 588)

mother and wife respectively were Hamiltons, approved their hopes, and favoured their success. But they had other and more secret motives, for both were thought to have been privy to the Queen's crimes. (1) William Murray of Tullibardine was estranged on account of a difference of opinion, concerning religious questions. He also had a private motive for being hostile to the Regent, and though he had given great service in the capture of the Queen, he now not only deserted the King's party, but - being offered great expectations of reward - he carried over with him a large number of friends. (2) These were the leaders of the enterprise to liberate the Queen. But there were very many others impelled to vengeance or the hope of advancement; besides those nearly related by blood or bond to those I have named.

In this turbulent state of affairs the Regent stood equally firm against the pleading of his friends and the threats of his enemies. Even when libels were published,

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- (1) Argyll and Huntly were both named as having signed a 'murder band' by John Hay of Talla in his public confession, 3 January, 1568. (Diurnal, 127-8) Neither was ever officially charged with complicity, though Huntly was accused, at York, 1568, with conniving at the marriage. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 854)
- (2) William Murray of Tullibardine was named by Mary's commissioners at York as one of those who secretly took the Queen's part when she was in Lochleven. (ibid, no. 859) But he fought for the Regent at Langside, (ibid, no. 653) and remained Comptroller throughout the spring of 1568. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 611)

revealing their hatred and lust for revenge - even when soothsayers, who were privy to the conspiracy, used their art against him, naming the day before which he would die - yet he stood firm in his resolution. (1) He used often to remark that he knew he must die some day; but he could not die more honourably than in striving for the peace of the land. So he ordered a convention to meet at Glasgow, and summoned to it the Lennoxmen, and the men of Renfrew and Clydesdale. (2) While he was there, administering the law and punishing offenders, the plan which had so long been making for freeing the Queen was put into effect. This was how the enterprise was accomplished.

There were in Lochleven Castle, where the Queen was imprisoned, the Regent's mother, his three half-brothers, and a host of other women. (3) No one was allowed to see the Queen, except such as were known to or sent by the Regent. Among the crowd of attendants, the Queen saw that the most amenable to her purpose was George Douglas, the

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- (1) No specimens of the libels published against the Regent at this time seem to have been preserved, but Ane Answer maid to the sklendereris that blasphemis the Regent and the rest of the lordis is extant, and its text reveals the tenour of such libels as must have existed. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 614)
- (2) Moray was in Glasgow in April, 1568. (ibid, no. 646) He had been conducting justice-ayres since the beginning of March. (Reg. Privy Council, I, 614 ff)
- (3) In July, 1567, Mary's retinue consisted of five or six ladies-in-waiting, four or five gentlewomen, and two chamber-maids. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 560)

youngest of the Regent's half-brothers, a youth of gentle spirit, of an age to be easily lured by feminine wiles. (1) She was wont to while away the time by some kind of game, and he often joined her in this familiar intercourse, so that he readily undertook to corrupt the minor servants of the castle by presents or promises. Once she had committed herself to him, and hoped to gain her liberty through him, she could not bring herself to deny him anything. George, accordingly, provided for his safety, and captivated by the hope of wealth and power in the future, spared nothing in his efforts to accomplish what he had undertaken. (2) His mother, it is believed, was not unaware of what he was doing. (3) But though some became aware of what was going on and reported it to the Regent, he trusted so in the loyalty of his family, that he made no change in the guard, except that he ordered George to leave the island. (4) George went to the village nearest the lake-shore, whence, through the servants he had

(1) George Douglas was not yet twenty years of age at this time.

(2) It was rumoured, before the Queen escaped, that there was a love-affair between her and George Douglas. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 1792)

(3) Melville also believed that Moray's mother was privy to the plan. (Melville, Memoirs, 199)

(4) George Douglas seems to have been ordered to leave Lochleven after an abortive attempt at escape on 25 March. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 2106)

bribed, he communicated with the Queen about all their plans even more freely than before. Then not only the Scots who were disaffected were admitted to knowledge of the plot, but also the French. (1) James Hamilton, who not many years before had been Regent, and James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, appealed to them for help. The Scots were to do the work; the French would vouchsafe the money.

About the end of April, an ambassador came from France, and in his king's name demanded leave to see the Queen. (2) If he were ~~denied~~ the privilege, he asserted, he would immediately depart. The Regent denied that this was within his authority. The Queen had not been imprisoned by him, and he could decide nothing without consulting those who had imprisoned the Queen, and obtained an act of parliament confirming what they had done. He would do as much as he could to satisfy his sister and his friend the King: he would summon a convention of the nobility for the 20th of the next month. The ambassador appeared to be contented

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- (1) There is no evidence that the French were involved in the plot.
- (2) This was de Beaumont, who arrived at Glasgow on 28 or 29 April, 1568. (Diurnal, 128; Teulet, op. cit., 202-3)

(2) Mary appeared on 2 May. (Tytler, History, 285, 286; no. 652.) It is said that her escape was effected by the contrivance of a page to Henry's mother, Elizabeth. (Tytler, History, 285, 286.)

(3) The main details of the above account of the escape are confirmed by a document, Cal. Sept. Papers, 11, no. 500.

with that reply, and the Regent carried on administering justice. (1) But the Queen had bribed a boatman, and escaped from the loch, having sent away the rest of her servants under various pretexts. (2) The news of her escape was reported to those in the Castle while they were at dinner, and they raised a clamour, which was futile. For all the boats were all pulled up to dry land, the rowlocks all destroyed, which prevented any immediate pursuit. Horsemen were waiting to receive the Queen, and she came next day, by way of the homes of men privy to the plot, to Hamilton, with a great following. Hamilton is eight miles from Glasgow. (3)

The news was soon widespread. There convened with her many who would not trust the King's party, which was not yet firmly established; many came, too, in the hope of gaining new favour with the Queen; and many put their reliance on the memory of former services. In this tumult, some frankly revealed their partisanship, some - having secretly sought pardon for their offences, - waited the chance of fortune, and lingered with the Regent. While the desertion of others roused little surprise, the defection of

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- (1) This account of the interview is confirmed by de Beaumont's report of 4 May. (Teulet, op. cit., 203) But the ambassador was not satisfied with the Regent's answer.
- (2) Mary escaped on 2 May. (Diurnal, 129; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 652.) It is said that her escape was effected by the contrivance of a page to Moray's mother, Willie Douglas. (Tytler, History, 285, 416)
- (3) The main details of the above account of the escape are confirmed by a document, News from Scotland, of 9 May. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 652)

Robert Boyd - who had commanded great respect for his loyalty till that day - occasioned many different comments. This famous family (of which we have written in our account of James III) had been ruined, and he had been brought up by his father, a man of strong character who copied the frugality of olden times, in a thrifty manner. He had followed the policy of his relatives, in attaching himself to the wealthier houses, to pave the way for restoring the fortunes of his ancient family, recently so flourishing. Accordingly, both his father and he had attached themselves to the Hamiltons, then all-powerful. But when the government had been transferred to the Queen Dowager, when the religious struggles arose, he joined the reformers, to whom his father had been opposed. He believed this faction to be the strongest, and he remained in it until the Queen's return from France. He earned so great a reputation for loyalty, courage and prudence that Archibald, earl of Argyll, was induced to rely almost wholly upon him. When it came to pass that some of the lords had banded together at Stirling to protect the King, he subscribed the bond. Yet with as little gravity he and Argyll - who was then governed by his counsels - reported what had occurred at that convention to the Queen. From that time Boyd was privy to all the Queen's plans against his erstwhile friends. And he deserved no greater repute with the Queen's faction for loyalty than he had with the others for unreliability and disloyalty. For when the Queen was imprisoned, and Moray appointed Regent,

Boyd joined himself to him, and showed so much ability and industry that he was admitted to his inner counsels. Whatever may be thought of him otherwise, he earned the Regent's warm approval in the trials of capital offences in Glasgow. But when he saw a civil war impending, he went over secretly to the Queen. Yet he sent his son with letters to the earl of Morton, excusing his departure, and affirming that he might not be of less service to the King's party than if he had remained with them. His desertion, therefore, gave men much ground for speculation, because of the opinion many held about his habits. (1)

Meanwhile there was a stormy dispute in the Regent's council as to whether they should stay where they were or go to Stirling, where the King was. (2) Many vehemently recommended moving. It was argued that the crowded town of Hamilton was nearby, and everywhere they were surrounded by the vassals of that wealthy house; that about five

(1) Boyd's loyalties at this time were similar to Argyll's. He subscribed the Bond against Bothwell at Stirling in May, 1567, and he signed the Dumbarton Bond on 29 June, 1567. On 12 September, he submitted to Moray. He went over to the Queen's party at some time prior to her escape, and signed the Hamilton Bond on 8 May, 1568. (*ibid.*, nos. 502, 536, 620, 650) Buchanan's allegations of Boyd's double-dealing seem to be justified.

(2) According to the *Diurnal*, the Regent's party were 'sair amazed' at the news. (*Diurnal*, 129) Buchanan is the only contemporary who gives an account of their opinions. If, however, a dispute arose, it was soon settled, for the Council proclaimed a muster to Glasgow on 3 May, almost as soon as the news of the Queen's escape had been received. (*Reg. Privy Council*, I, 622)

hundred horse had arrived, with the Queen, and many more were said to be approaching from the more distant districts. There remained with the Regent only his own men: of the rest, some had gone to the Queen, some to their own affairs, as if this were a time of profound peace. Though the Glasgow people seemed fairly loyal, as they had suffered many and great annoyances from the Hamiltons, when they were in power, yet the town was large, not well-inhabited, and entirely open. In opposition to this argument, some declared that nearly everything depended on the first blow. A retreat would be shameful, and next thing to flight. Above all, they must avoid any appearance of fear, lest the spirits of the enemies be raised, and those of their own men downcast. Nearby were the powerful families of Cunningham and Semple. On the other side was Lennox, the King's own patrimony. From the nearest of these they would have reinforcements within a few hours, from the other places next day, or certainly the day after. Meanwhile, while they awaited help from farther away, they were strong enough, especially when they had been joined by the townsfolk.

These sentiments won over the council. The French ambassador went from one side to the other, more a spy than the peacemaker he pretended to be. When he saw how few were the forces in Glasgow and how great was the host around Hamilton, he strongly advised the Queen to venture her

fortunes in battle. (1) Already the Regent had collected his supporters from the nearest districts, and awaited more from farther away, Merse and Lothian. When they arrived, these numbered about six hundred picked men. He gave them one day of rest, and decided to march toward Hamilton and at once force an engagement if he could. He was of the opinion that delay would harm his party, and be useful to the enemy, who were favoured by the remoter districts of the country. Meanwhile, on the morning of the third day, his spies assured him that the enemy were convening from the several places where they had been quartered. (2) They trusted to their numbers - they had six thousand, five hundred men in arms, and they knew that with the Regent there were scarcely four thousand men. They had resolved to march beyond Glasgow, to leave the Queen in Dumbarton Castle, and either fight the war or draw it out, as they thought best; or if the Regent stood in their way (which they did not expect) to engage at once. (3) They never doubted the outcome of the event. (4)

(1) It is certain that de Beaumont visited both parties. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 655; Teulet, op. cit. 203; Diurnal, 129) A week after the battle, Drury reported that the French ambassador had openly sided with the Queen. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 2220)

(2) This was on 10 May. (ibid., no. 2172)

(3) The numbers engaged in the battle have been variously estimated as from 2,000 men on the Queen's side and 1,000 on the Regent's, to 6,000 and 4,000 respectively. (Diurnal, 130; Cal. Scot. Papers, II, nos. 654, 655; C.S.P.For., 1566-8, no. 2173)

(4) According to Melville, the Queen wanted to go to Dumbarton without fighting, but the Hamiltons insisted on an engagement. (Melville, Memoirs, 200) Drury, however, reported that Mary was eager to fight. (C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 2233)

The Regent, who had decided to provoke the enemy to give battle, first led out his troops into the open countryside where he thought the enemy would come, and stood some hours with his lines drawn up. But when he saw the enemy column on the other side of the river, he at once understood their plan, and he ordered his own men to cross, the infantry by the bridge, and the cavalry by the fords, and make for Langside. This village lies on the river Cart, and the enemy's route passed through it. It is situated at the foot of a hill, which runs south-west; the approaches on the east and north are steep, but the other sides run gently down to a plain. (1) There Moray hurried so swiftly that the King's forces had nearly occupied the hill before their strategem had dawned on the enemy, who were making for the same place, though they had been following a quicker route. But they had two pieces of ill-luck, which greatly benefited the King's forces. First, Archibald, earl of Argyll, suddenly fell from his horse, ill, and this mishap seriously hindered the column. (2) Again, their troops, who were marching down into narrow glens every now and then, never saw the whole of the King's forces at one time. This

(1) For a description of the terrain, see A.M.Scott, The Battle of Langside. This, however, relies largely on Buchanan.

(2) According to an anonymous contemporary report, Argyll swooned 'for fault of courage.' (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 655) Buchanan's more charitable account is more consistent with Argyll's reputation.

caused them to believe them to be few in number (as indeed they were) so that they were contemptuous of them, and of their advantage in position. At last, when they saw that the position they had been making for had been taken up by the enemy, the Queen's forces occupied a gently-sloping hill opposite the enemy and broke up into two lines. In the front they placed their best troops. If they broke the enemy's line, they believed, the rest would flee without making a stand. The commanders of the King's army also divided their men into two lines. On the right were James Douglas, earl of Morton, Robert Semple, Alexander Hume, and Patrick Lindsay, each at the head of his own supporters. On the left were John, earl of Mar, Alexander, earl of Glencairn, William, earl of Monteith, and the men of Glasgow. The musketeers held the village and the gardens beside the road.

When both armies were drawn up ready for battle, the King's men attacked the Queen's artillery, and dislodged them. On the other hand, the King's cavalry, being much inferior, retreated. The Queen's cavalry, having won this engagement, advanced to attack the line standing on the hill, in order to rout the infantry in the same manner. But they were driven back by the King's archers, and some of the cavalry who had rallied from the retreat. Meanwhile the enemy's left flank advanced along the road, which ran down into the valley. Though tormented on the march by the musketeers, they fell into battle-line when they came out of the valley. Here they were faced by two squadrons of

pikemen, each a solid barrier, and the conflict was fierce for about half an hour. Those whose pikes were broken drew daggers and threw stones, pieces of lances or whatever they could pick up, into the face of the enemy. Some of the rear ranks of the King's faction took to flight, either from fear or treachery, and would certainly have confused the soldiers, if it had not been that the density of the ranks prevented those in front from knowing what was happening at the back. The second division saw the danger, and as no one stood against them, they threw forward several squadrons to the right, and reinforced their front lines. The enemy were unable to resist the combined attack, thrown into complete confusion, and took to flight. The slaughter of the fugitives would have been terrible, because of the driving hatred and lust for vengeance, had not the Regent sent horsemen in every direction to forbid promiscuous killing. (1) The second line of the King's army, which had stood still till now, saw the enemy fleeing in disorder, and broke up their ranks to join in the pursuit. (2)

(1) This is confirmed by the anonymous report. (*ibid*)

(2) Buchanan's account of the battle is the fullest contemporary report extant. Its details are consistent with all the other evidence available. (See A.M.Scott, The Battle of Langside.)

(2) According to Scott, *op. cit.* (1866, no. 654) Another states that the number killed was less than 200, and that more than 100 were taken prisoner. (1876, no. 655)

(3) Cf. Cal. Scot. Hist. II, no. 654; G. & A. Bell, 1566-68, no. 2151; *ibid.* 1566-68, etc.

The Queen, who had been watching the battle from about a mile away, fled towards England with her cavalry, who had emerged unscathed from the battle. (1) The rest went each to his own home as fast as he could. Few fell in this battle, but many were killed in the countryside as they fled, weary and wounded. About three hundred were slain, and more were taken prisoner. (2) Few of the King's troops were wounded, among them Alexander, lord Hume, and Andrew Stewart; only one was killed. The rest of the army, save for a few horsemen who continued the pursuit, returned joyfully to Glasgow. There they gave thanks to God, who had granted an almost bloodless victory to their just cause, against an enemy strong and superior in numbers; and congratulating each other, they departed and went to dinner. This battle took place on 13 May, eleven days after the Queen had escaped from prison. (3)

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- (1) The Queen's cavalry was commanded by Herries. (Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 655) When she fled, she was escorted by Herries and his troops. (ibid., no. 657)
- (2) According to one witness, 500 were killed. (ibid., no. 654) Another states that the number killed was less than 200, and that more than 300 were taken prisoner. (ibid., no. 655)
- (3) Cf Cal. Scot. Papers, II, no. 654; C.S.P.For., 1566-68, no. 2181; Diurnal, 130-31, etc.